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Θ

I R I S:

STUDIES IN COLOUR AND TALKS ABOUT FLOWERS.

Culinæ BY
FRANZ DELITZSCH, D.D.,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, LEIPSIC.

Translated from the Original

BY THE

REV. A. CUSIN, M.A., EDINBURGH.

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Divinity School.

P R E F A C E.

THE subjects of the following papers are old pet children, which have grown with me since ever I began to feel and think. For I can scarcely remember the time when I was not irresistibly drawn to observe the refraction of light, and to muse on the language of colours. With flowers I have always been on the most confidential footing; they have heavenly things to tell me, and in their perfume I feel the nearness and breath of the Creator. It is true that with wine and dancing I am less familiar, but I have had the more to do with them as a student of the Bible. Down to old age, the sight of youth has served to make me young again; I have rejoiced to sun myself in those bright rays of the life eternal—alas! too evanescent—which play on the youthful countenance. From my youth up no enjoyment has given me such delight as the love of friends. Many of these friendships have gradually faded, but, as I hope, only to bloom again like the Jericho rose of the wilderness.

It was these favourites of mine which supplied me

with theme and matter for occasional lectures which I was called to deliver. I have collected them here under the emblematical name IRIS. The prismatic colours of the rainbow, the brilliant sword-lily, that wonderful part of the eye which gives it its colour, and the messenger of heaven who beams with joy, youth, beauty, and love, are all named Iris. The varied contents of my book stand related on all sides to that wealth of ideas which are united in this name.

F. D.

LEIPSIC, 1888.

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L

The Blue of the Sky.



I.

THE BLUE OF THE SKY.

THE creation of light in the beginning was also the creation of colours. The mystery of light touches very closely the mystery of God. The call went forth over chaos in its first throes toward formation : "Let there be light!" But for its production there were needed, as we shall immediately find, impulses to set the cosmic ether in vibratory wavy motion. Whence did those impulses proceed ? Whence but from Him who is Himself absolute Light. Darkness lay on the primeval waters, and so no luminous body capable of communicating to the ether the necessary vibrations was yet in existence.

Light is a mystery. We can explain its phenomena, but its nature we cannot understand. The question, where or how light and darkness have their origin, reduces a Helmholtz in our day as thoroughly to silence as it did Job, when the Lord put the question to him (xxxviii. 19). Newton held light to be a substance of infinite subtlety, which was emitted by luminous bodies in variously coloured particles. In this matter more recent science has gone beyond him. It regards light as a phenomenon arising from the vibration of the object, *i.e.* the motions of the ether by which it is penetrated ; and it teaches that as sound is propagated by the vibrations of

the sounding body communicated to the air, so light is propagated by the vibrations of the luminous body communicated to the ether which pervades the universe : ether in motion gives light, and ether at rest is darkness. This ether certainly is not like the air, a real object discernible by the senses ; it is only an assumption, found necessary to explain the phenomena of light, but one which approves itself as a working hypothesis. On the ground of this assumption, we explain the origin of colours. In colourless white light there is contained an innumerable multitude of rays, the undulations of which increase or diminish in length according to the slowness or rapidity of the ether-vibrations by which they are propagated. The light-sensation of blue and violet arises when the ether makes from 700 to 800 billions of vibrations in a second, and strikes the retina of the eye in its course in correspondingly short undulations. Though Goethe's doctrine of colours, which ascribes their origin to the mixing of light and darkness, is easier to understand, and has the recommendation that it lends itself readily to æsthetical and symbolical applications ; modern science, herein confirming the discovery of Newton, holds firmly that it is the colourless white light which contains the coloured rays, which is unequally resolved into them in the spectrum, and may again be formed by uniting them, —a magnificent image supplied by nature of the unity of God and of the riches of absolute life contained in His unity.

When first the light, with the intensity characteristic of all creative beginnings, broke into the gloomy mists which lay on the waters of chaos, then appeared all the

phenomena of colour which accompany light, as it passes more slowly or more quickly through impure media, or as it is reflected. At some points, violet, blue, and green light, with their short undulations, combined to form blue; and at other points, where the impure layers were thicker, their colouring rose from yellow and yellowish red, and red, to white. It was the first day-break, immediately produced by God, the Sun of suns. The earth was not yet formed out of chaos; land, sea, and atmosphere were not yet divided; the centres of light destined for the world, with the sun at their head, were not yet in existence. But now there was light, God's firstborn, and with it, colours, the children of light. All creatures, which thereafter came into being, had, along with their peculiar forms, at the same time their peculiar colours. And when the ascending scale of organic and animated beings reached its highest step in man, the human body was distinguished by that manifold soft mingling of colours, the rendering of which, the so-called carnation, is almost the painter's despair. It is celebrated by the Shulamite in the Song of Songs (ver. 14) as she exclaims: "My beloved is white and ruddy." This flesh colour was further heightened by the colour of the eyes and hair, and varied by the transparent brightness of the nails, which in the same passage is compared to the topaz (R.V., marg.), and the blue of the veins gleaming under the skin, compared to sapphires inlaid in ivory. And now encircling man, the finished cosmos was bright with every colour, from the carpet of flowers beneath his feet to the play of colour in the rising and setting sun,

and to the stars shedding their variously-coloured light during the night. If he looked after sunrise to the sky over his head, he found himself overarched with a vast dome of deep blue, which toward the extremities of the horizon passed over into bright blue, and melted away more and more into white. If he looked beneath him, dewdrops reflected to him all the colours of the rainbow, and the world of plants met his eye in inexhaustible richness of form and colour on a fresh green of the most varied degrees of brightness. The birds, too, which chirped to him from the branches and from the air, the fishes which splashed in the stream, the whole animal world which surrounded him, was arranged with infinite combinations of colour according to the composition of their bodies. All nature lay before man like an open book with coloured letters and pictures. That he should assimilate at once this boundless range of colour-sensations was absolutely impossible. Human history, though human and not merely animal, yet had its childhood. The observation of objects, and the naming of what was observed, have their history in every department. Man's colour-sense also has had its growth. An example of this gradual development is the blue of the sky. We can all distinguish and name it; and where is there a modern poet who does not celebrate this blue in song? J. H. Voss, for example, when he says of a beautiful sunrise,—

Duftig in lauterer Bläue zerfloss wie Silber das Frührot;¹

¹ Balmy to brightest blue,
The red dawn melted like silver.—TR.

or W. Jordan, of the morning sky,—

In reiner Bläue hoch im Osten stand der Morgenstern, der Himmeldiamant;¹

or Count Platen, of wooded hills,—

Des Himmels Blau, der Sonne Gold verschweben um eure Wipfel;²

or Immanuel Geibel, of a beautiful day,—

Lau war die Luft, der tiefe Himmel blaute.³

But to reach the conscious perception and designation of this blue required a period not of centuries only, but of millenniums.

In the hymns of the old Indian Rigveda, the chariot of the sun is described as inlaid with mother-of-pearl, having a golden pole, and showing every colour. Its horses are gold-like, or beaming with sevenfold hues. But though blue comes into play in the symbolism of the cultus of Indra, the god of the sky, the brightness of the day-sky caused by the revolution of the sun-god is nowhere designated as blue. The language has the word *nila* for blue, using it to denote the dye of the indigo plant, the colour of the blue water-rose, the colour of the sea and of river-water, but never the colour of the day-sky. Neither does the old Persian Avesta ever anywhere celebrate the blue of the sky. The north Semitic

¹ In purest blue, high in the East,
Stood the morning star, the diamond of heaven.—Tr.

² The heaven's blue, the sun's pure gold,
Enweave your airy tops.—Tr.

³ Soft was the air, blue showed the deep, far sky.—Tr.

languages have not even an adjective for blue, neither has the Egyptian, though the Egyptians as well as the Babylonians and the Assyrians were acquainted with blue mineral dyes. In other tongues where there is a word, it is not used of the sky. Notwithstanding the laughing blue of the Greek sky, neither the Homeric songs nor classical Greek literature in general ever describe the sky by this colour; violet or cyan-blue is the term applied to the sea, but nowhere in any of the old Greek poets to the sky. Neither in the ancient Edda do we find the bright clear sky named by its colour; the waves of the sea and the Moor are there called *bla*,—that is, blue,—but not the sky. So the old High German *bla* (*pláo*; *bláu*, *pláu*) appears as an attribute of water and of night, but not of the sky.

If now we ask, apart in the meantime from Old Testament Scripture, when it was that literature began to speak of the blue sky, it appears that in this, as in other things, the Chinese must have the palm of priority. My friend Victor von Strauss und Torney, to whom I applied for information,¹ has examined those writings of the Chinese which extend over the seven centuries before the Christian era, to investigate the expressions contained in them for blue and green, and this is the result. Besides the word *niuán* (*ngun*), which denotes blue, but at the same time also the most diverse dark hues down even to black, there is found the colour-name

¹ See his paper, "Bezeichnung der Farben Blau und Grün im chinesischen Altertum," in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xxxiii. pp. 502-508.

thsāng (*thong*), which undoubtedly denotes the blue of the sky. In the *Schi-king*, a collection of songs from about 1709 to 618 B.C., the sky is called the vaulted blue (*kniūng thsāng*), as in the more modern language it is called the reigning blue (*kiūn thsāng*). The same mode of designating heaven meets us (and I am not aware that it does so elsewhere or earlier) in the oldest Latin poets of the third century B.C. They use the colour-name *cærulus* of the sky. This word occurs also of green, but mostly denotes blue. Nævius calls it *concarum cærulum*, the blue vault; in a later age the Christian poet Synesius speaks of it as *κυανάντυξ*, the dark blue vaulted; and Ennius names it *cærula templa*, the blue dwelling of God. Thenceforth *cærulus* is a favourite pictorial epithet of heaven with the Latin poets. If from that time onwards the blue sky occurs both in the Christian song to the sun in the later Edda, and in middle High German poetry, this is only what we should expect. But this progress in colour-sense is not uniform. To denote the pure sky-blue, Arabian poetry uses a homonym (*el-hadrā*) which signifies green, blue, fawn, and dark. The bright day-sky passes for white. It is in the learned language that we first find for sky-blue the adopted Persian word *asmāngūn*, i.e. sky-colour, and the adjective *samāwi*, i.e. sky-coloured. Old Greek writers on science use in the same sense *aērinos*, i.e. air-coloured,—substitutes, that is to say, for proper colour-names.

How slowly consciousness of the blue of the sky and the naming of it came to maturity is shown by the Roman and Byzantine chariot races, which formed part

of the games of the circus. The teams fell into four parties (*factiones*), which were known by the four different colours worn by the charioteers. One was green, *prasina*; another white, *alba*; another blue, *veneta* (called from the colour of the sea on the coast, which was inhabited by the ancient Venetians); and a fourth red, *russata*. The blue faction was sacred to Cronos (Saturn), who in Hindustani also receives the epithet *nīlavāsas* (the blue-clad), or to Poseidon, the ruler of the dark-coloured sea; so that seamen took it as a favourable omen if the blue faction won, and the landsmen if the green was victorious. At a later period the circus was regarded as an image of the course of the year, and the four colours were explained of the four seasons. But so far from the blue being associated with summer and its prevailing sky-blue, it was rather associated with the cloudy winter. Or the four colours were explained in reference to the four elements. But so far was blue from being referred to the air, that white was associated with the air, and blue with water. Nowhere is it clearly declared that blue belonged to the sky. We have only solitary utterances to this effect, among them Tertullian's, who says hesitatingly that it was counted sacred to the sky and the sea (*cælo et mari*).

Another proof that the colour-sense for the blue of the sky was not developed till very late is found in the literature of the Talmud and Midrasch, where it discusses the purple-blue of the fringes worn by the Hebrews, and of the cloth in which the ark of the covenant was wrapped during the wanderings in the wilderness. To the question why purple-blue, or the colour of the

hyacinth, is distinguished above other colours, the answer is given, Because the hyacinth is like the sea, and the sea like the firmament of heaven. Elsewhere there comes in between these even the green of plants: the hyacinth is like the sea, and the sea like plants and trees, and these are like the firmament of heaven. Here blue and green are confounded, as blue and black are by Raschi, the commentator on the Talmud, when he remarks: "The hyacinth is like the firmament when it is growing black at eventide." Ambrose, indeed, following Columella, is on the right track when he says that the hyacinth presents the colour of the bright sky. But taking all these expressions together, it follows clearly that down even to the Middle Ages, blue was not accurately distinguished either from green or from black.

How comes it that blue as a colour was so long of being distinguished and named? An able scientific oculist, Hugo Magnus of Breslau, has drawn the following conclusion from the course of development through which the colour-sense has passed. The men of primeval times, he says, did not see colours: colour-sense was preceded by light-sense, *i.e.* the sense for various quantities, but not yet for various qualities of light. And colour-blindness, which belongs to many persons as a natural organic defect, is due to an arrest of the development, which prevents the retina from emerging from that yet undeveloped original stage. But this view implies a rudimentary beginning, which cannot be historically proved, and which regards the process of development one-sidedly, because only physically. If we

take the grown man, we find him susceptible of colour-sensations, even among the most uncultivated peoples ; they love to paint themselves red or yellow, and so beautify their persons. And how can we suppose that the retina of man was ever insensible to colour impressions, when even insects, which gather honey or pollen, are guided, as has been observed, more by the colour than by the form of the flower ; and coloured as well as colourless light produces in that mosaic of minute lines and points, which forms the retina of the frog, changes constantly varying according to the kind of colour ? It is true that the ancient colour-names express only the contrast of bright and dark, and move within these fundamental conceptions. But we dare not conclude from this that the retina of man in those ancient times was only capable of distinguishing the effects of light, not the hues of colour. For at the present day, as much as thousands of years ago, human language is utterly incapable of rendering any colour by an adequate expression. Either the colour is named according to the fundamental conceptions of bright and dark, as, for example, green, fawn, grey have their names in Semitic, from their faintness of light ; or from the cause which produces it, *e.g.* brown is connected with burning, *braun* with *brennen* ; or from something or other to which this colour belongs, *e.g.* the names for red and blood are mutually related in Semitic. Indeed, there is no word of man whatever which perfectly mirrors the impression made by the thing. It is always a merely fragmentary designation of the object from some mark or analogy. Baum (*tree*), for example, denotes that with which we

bauen (*build*). But there are other building materials besides. Thus the word is not co-extensive with the thing. A child's pencil which scratches the picture of a tree on his slate achieves more than human language. Not only in relation to God, but in respect also of the world of things, we are mere babblers. Our words are poor ciphers.

Admitting that the senses for light and colour have never existed separately, and that language down to the present day in naming colours has never got beyond the contrasts of light and dark, yet the development of the colour-sense, *i.e.* the distinction of colour impressions in sensation, perception, and nomenclature follows the same law as all human development,—the law of progress from coarse to fine, from the obvious to the recondite, from the near to the far. A child is immediately arrested when strong bright colours, such as red, are held before it, whereas it takes no interest in the fainter, so-called indefinite colours. The reason of this is that its mind is yet only half awake, and is only excited by strong impressions. And so also the attention of the race was attracted first by the light and colour impressions produced by fire, by the red of dawn and of evening, by the sun, moon, and stars, rather than by the blue of the sky. Red and yellow came first. Pliny is so far right in saying that the most ancient preference was for yellow. Men were first strongly affected by red and yellow, and especially the orange colour of fire. There is an Indian legend which reckons ether, air, fire, water, and earth as the five elements; and it ascribes to ether the property of sound, to air the properties of

sound and tangibility, to fire the properties of sound, tangibility, and colour, thus dating colour from fire. Homer gives Eos (*Dawn*) a garment of crocus and fingers of rose, thus making yellow and red the prominent colours of the morning sky. Before seven colours were reckoned to the rainbow, three only were counted. The rainbow, according to the Edda, is a three-coloured bridge between heaven and earth, and its red is described as like a burning fire. A bride among the Romans was clad in yellow, and the conqueror at his triumph appeared in red. In comparison with the strong effects produced by these two colours, blue seemed dark, and green pale. On the whole, the historical proof sketched by Magnus¹ cannot be disputed, that the development of the colour-sense follows the order of the prismatic colours, having begun, as it did, with the reddish-yellow extremity, and having only after a long interval reached the blue - violet. Moreover, the development of the colour-sense is not the same in all races, any more than in all individuals. To the present day blue is the weak side of many in respect of their sense of colour. From want of attention and practice, their eye has not attained the requisite power of distinction. We may safely say that most people cannot distinguish between blue, indigo, and violet. If they were asked how the blue of the larkspur, of the cornflower, of the wild anemone, and of the forget-me-not are distinguished, they could only answer by saying that they call the one flower bright blue, and the other dark blue. But if it comes to the

¹ See his paper, *Ueber ethnologische Untersuchungen des Farbensinns*, 1883 (in the Virchow-Holtzendorf collection).

distinguishing of lilac, violet, and pansy-colour, *i.e.* the blue of the elder, the violet, and the hearts-ease, one would need to be initiated into the mysteries of the milliner and the dyer in the matter of colouring.

Incapable of naming the many varieties of blue directly from the impression they make, language calls to its aid the natural objects which exhibit these shades. Lilac is so called from the blossom of the lilac, the name in Turkish for the elder or the syringa. Azure is the ultramarine of the lapis-lazuli (Ger. *lazur-stein*). Pavonazzo in Italian (from *pavone*, peacock) is the blue opalescent colour playing into reddish which belongs to the feathers of the peacock, etc. If we want to describe by its colour the perfectly clear day-sky over our head, we cannot say it is sky-blue, for that would be a tautology, and not even correct. We should have to say it is ultramarine blue, thus showing that we can only describe it by way of comparison. Besides, the degrees of brightness vary exceedingly according to the weather, season, and climate; and if we are to determine the exact hue, we must be content to help ourselves with a cipher, the one corresponding to it of the fifty-one grades marked on the plate of the cyanometer, a modern invention for measuring the blue of the sky. What language fails to do by forming a direct word must be supplemented by comparison or figures. Even the widespread name, blue, is one of those makeshifts, and a rather amusing one too. All the later lexicographers of High German, old, middle, and new, such as *Graff*, *Lexer*, *Müller-Zarncke*, the brothers *Grimm*, ascribe the adjective blue (*blau*) to the verb *bleuen*, old High German

bliuwan (*pliuwan*), *blivan*, middle High German *bliuwen*, *bliwen*, which, like the Greek $\phi\lambda\delta\epsilon\nu$ and the Latin *figere*, means *to beat*. Let any one be violently beaten with a blunt instrument, and the soft parts under the skin give way, the blood pours into them, and, shining through the skin, colours it blue. Thus blue is the colour of the skin with the blood flowing under it in consequence of a heavy blow or stroke. Hence it is that the notion of beating blue has come to be connected with the verb *bleuen*, *to strike*, which is to be found twice, so late as in Luther's translation of the Bible. And now the two words *bläuen*, *to make blue*, and its original *bleuen*, *to strike*, are completely identified both in spelling and thought. We no longer distinguish between the *Bläuen* of the washerwoman and the *Bleuen* of the teacher, whom Klopstock defines as "the spelling-master, who does the youngsters blue."¹ In a way so peculiar and roundabout have the Germanic peoples gained a word for the colour blue, and particularly for the colour of the cloudless sky. They have literally cudgelled out the word for blue, or to express it a little more respectably, they have won it with their fists. We can still trace the connection in Jacob Ayrer, the famous dramatist of the sixteenth century, when we find him putting a threat thus: You'd better, or I'll beat thee heaven-blue (*oder ich schlag dich himelblau*).

So hard was it for human reflection and speech to fix and express the sensation of blue. In sketching this tedious and clumsy process, we have hitherto left out of account the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

¹ „Den Buchstaberer, welcher die Wichter bläuet.“

We have already remarked, however, that the northern Semitic languages, to which Hebrew belongs, did not come the length of inventing an adjective for blue, and that a specific name for the blue of the sky is wanting even in the Greek language. We could not therefore expect that the sky should anywhere be called blue in Old or New Testament Scripture; the language of the sacred writers had not a word for it. Where we speak of the blue of heaven, Scripture speaks of the brightness, the beauty, the clearness of heaven. Goethe says, using the German colour-word,—

Wenn der Aether, Wolken tragend,
Mit dem klaren Tage streitet,
Und ein Ostwind, sie verjagend,
Blaue Sonnenbahñ bereitet.¹

Horace expresses the same without such a word :

“ Albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo
Sæpe Notus . . . ” ;²

and the Book of Job (xxvi. 13) says the same also without a colour-word, with inimitable brevity, in three majestic words, *berúcho schamájim schiphra*, i.e. the breath of His wind creates the beauty of heaven.

But though biblical language has no adjective for blue at its command, the Book of books yet maintains its uniqueness in the literatures of the nations, in this

¹ When the ether, thick clouds bearing,
Hides the clear bright day from view,
And an east wind, through them tearing,
Makes the sun a path of blue.—TR.

(Goethe's *Werke*, i. 60, ed. Hildburghausen.)

² “ As oft, from the dusky sky the south-wind sweeps
The clouds with its light-bringing breath ” . . . —TR.

particular also, that it indirectly bears the grandest and most beautiful testimony to the blue of heaven. So we find in the history of the Sinaitic legislation. Israel has heard the fundamental laws and given promise of obedience; and by sprinkling with the blood of the covenant, it has been consecrated to be the covenant people. Then it is related that Moses, Aaron, and the other representatives of Israel, in obedience to the divine call, ascended Sinai, and there they saw, as we read in Ex. xxiv. 10, the God of Israel, and "under His feet as it were a work of transparent sapphire, and as it were the body of heaven in its clearness." To the people God's glory had appeared in the cloud which covered the mountain-top, and out of which went flames of fire; for in the law God reveals Himself as a devouring fire. But His holy severity has for its inner side His holy love, and this was to be impressed on the representatives of Israel now that the covenant was concluded. Hence they see over them the place of God's feet, formed, as it were, of transparent sapphire, and like the substance of heaven in clearness, *i.e.* clear as the heaven illumined by the sun, without a speck of cloud. In Ezekiel's vision of the divine throne, borne up by cherubs,—that vision so rich in form and colour, by which he is consecrated to his prophetic office,—the sapphire figure of the Sinaitic legislation is repeated. On the heads of the throne-bearers floats the firmament like a vast crystal, and over the firmament appears a throne like a sapphire stone, and on this One enthroned in human form, dazzling from the loins upwards like electrum, from the loins downwards glowing like fire, and round about Him,

as it were, the brilliance of the bow in the cloud on a day of rain.

If the throne of the heavenly King appears here like sapphire, sapphire-blue is understood as equivalent to sky-blue, and this is stated in express terms in Ex. xxiv. 10. Both visions require the transparent sapphire, which is the more precious the deeper its blue. But the lapis-lazuli is also called sapphire by the ancients, though distinguished from it by its want of transparency and, as appears from Job xxviii. 6, by the gold dust contained in it. When raised to a glowing heat and reduced to powder, it yielded the ancient genuine ultramarine. Its name *lagverd*, *lathwerd*, *lazzwerd*, in the form *lazur* or *azur*, has passed over from the Persian and Arabic to the West. Since then, now the one, now the other blue stone has served to designate the blue of the sky. *A right sapphire*, says the master-singer Muscatblut, *is himelblå* (*heaven blue*). And a poem in Massmann's *Monuments* says of the sky in fine weather: *der himel der vin was unde lásúrblå* (*the fair heaven beneath was azure blue*).

Thus, though holy Scripture does not name blue, because the language has no word for it, yet it is in the books of the Old Testament, which date from a time before the composition of the holy books of the Chinese, that we find the sky most beautifully and significantly described as blue with the help of the sapphire, and that, the sky to whose pure cloudless depths the eye of the adoring suppliant strains to find the abode of God, and the throne of grace. So we can understand the words of Isaiah (liv. 11), when he promises to the city of God,

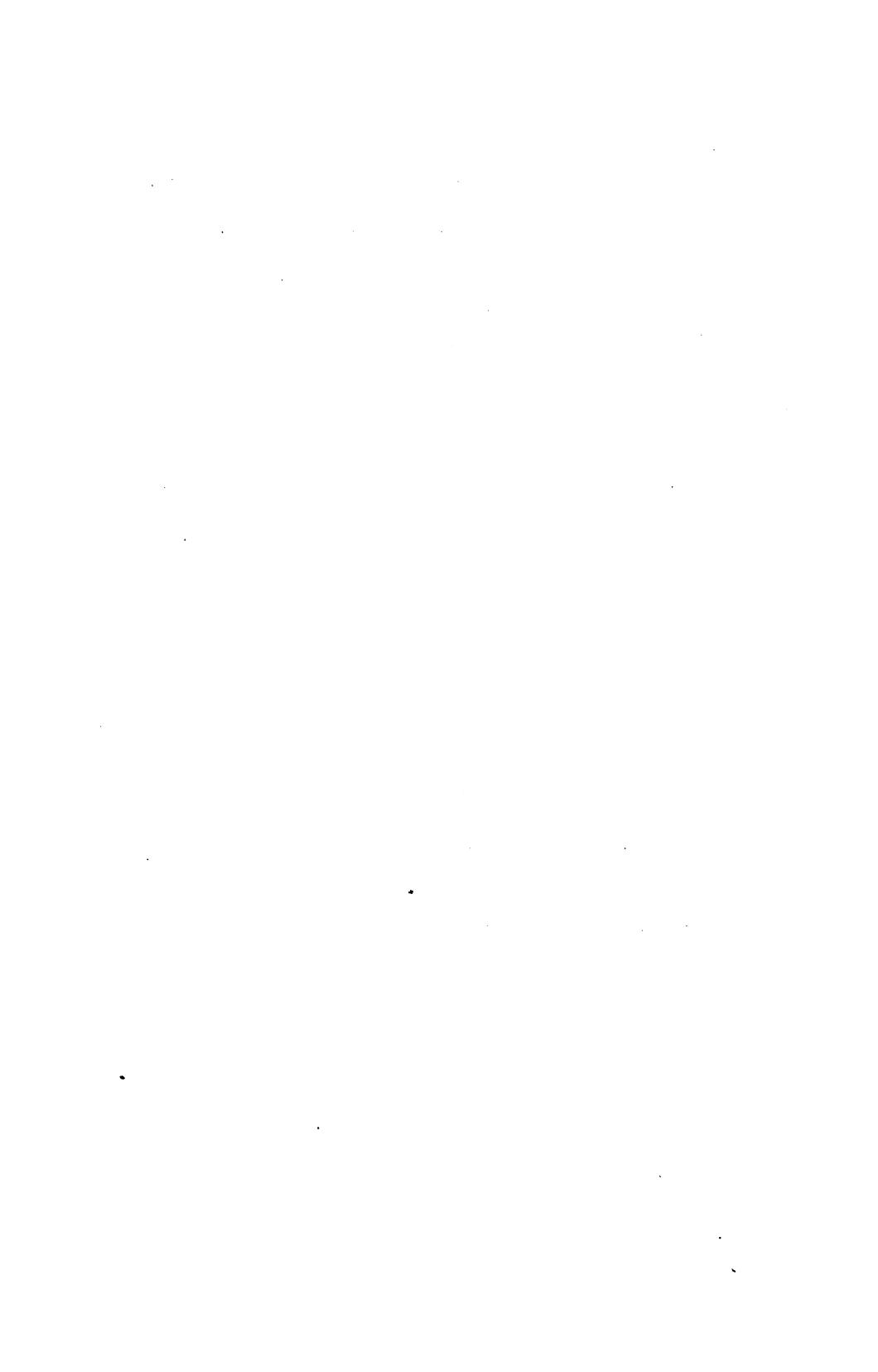
which is now desolate and swept by every storm: "Behold, I will lay thy foundation with sapphires." Sapphire-blue is the blue of heaven, blue is the colour of the atmosphere illumined by the sun, through which shine the dark depths of space, the colour of the finite pervaded by the infinite, the colour taken by that which is most heavenly as it comes down on the earthly, the colour of the covenant between God and men. And blue passes almost universally as the colour of fidelity. Even in middle High German *bla* is symbolically equivalent to *staete* (*stedfast*) and *staetekeit* (*stedfastness*). The Sanskrit shows us how it came to have this meaning, when it gives to the man who is stedfast in his devotion the character of being as unchangeable as the indigo colour, which is not only beautiful, but lasting. But in biblical symbolism there is associated with blue the idea of the blue sky, and with the blue sky the idea of the Godhead coming forth from its mysterious dwelling in the unseen world, and graciously condescending to the creature.

The purple-blue, or hyacinth, among the four colours of the Mosaic cultus also points to heaven. According to the old Jewish interpretation, the fringes worn by the Israelites, which were either wholly blue or partly blue and partly white, were meant to recall Him whose throne is set on a foundation of sapphire. They were required to be at least seven in number, corresponding to the seven heavens. Blue indicates heaven, and on this account it is the old and still prevailing colour of the nimbus assigned to angels. The old tradition of the painters makes blue the colour of our Lord's upper

garment. We can trace it back in pictures, frescoes, and mosaics at least to the twelfth century. That blue points to the heavenly, appears from the fact, that He who is now hidden with God is represented when He appears again as judge as having His body enveloped in a flowing garment of blue. No doubt our Lord is also represented with only a red garment, as in the frescoes of the Calixtine catacombs and the mosaics of Ravenna, or with a blue garment over the red,¹ as here in the picture of Him on the Via Dolorosa.² But from what we have seen in the former instance, we may conclude that there is a distinct idea associated with the red, as there is with the blue. If, then, blue denotes the heavenly, what means the red of His other garment? We ask with the seer in the Book of Isaiah (lxiii. 2): "Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the winefat?" The answer to this question, in connection with the biblical symbolism of colour, may be reserved for another lecture on purple and scarlet.

¹ A red tunic under a stole of a different colour was not unusual, see *Moëd katon*, 23.

² The lecture was delivered in a hall at Leipsic which is adorned with a picture by Jäger, to which the lecturer here points.—TR.



II.

Black and White.

II.

BLACK AND WHITE.

LIGHT and darkness are represented in the Bible as contrasts. Physically, they are contrasts, and consequently in the domain of natural law; but also spiritually, and so in the domain of freedom. God, says Scripture, is light, the good angels are angels of light, men whose life is from God and in God are children of light.

When Scripture says: God is light, of course it does not mean that the substance and material phenomenon, which we perceive with the senses and call light, constitutes God's essence. But neither is it of the same kind as the expressions: God is a rock, or God is a shield. These are figures accidentally taken to denote that our trust may be founded on Him, and that, when in danger, we may take the comfort of His protection; accidental figures, because they may be interchanged with many others of the same meaning, as that God is a strong tower, or a wall of fire. But when Scripture says, God is light, it describes God's essence, not by a figure taken at random from the field of nature, but by that figure of His essence which He Himself has inwrought into creation, as Platen puts it in a hymn to light,—

Licht, es ist der große Mittler
Zwischen Gott und zwischen Menschen.
Als die Welt geboren wurde,
Ward das Licht vorangeboren,

Und so ward des Schöpfers Klarheit
Das Mysterium der Schöpfung.¹

If this scriptural view of the poet is correct, if it is the brightness, *i.e.* the holiness and glory of the Creator Himself, which creation reflects in the form of light, it must be more than an accidental metaphor, when Scripture says of evil, ungodliness, that it is darkness. In fact, we are taught by experience in a very humiliating and terrible way, that there is a connection between evil and darkness. Evil produces a heat of passion in man, which, when it is burned out, leaves his mind darkened ; and even when a man with an evil conscience stands in a festive hall, bright with a thousand lights, his inner being is enveloped in night, it is with his soul as if he were in a dark prison.

Thus there are phenomena and sensations of light and darkness which, though they do not belong to physical nature, are yet homogeneous with it. And so it is more than a figure of speech, when Scripture regards the struggle between light and darkness as constituting the history of the world, with the victory of light for its final issue. There is a tragical dissonance which echoes throughout the Gospel of John, remaining unharmonized to the end. It makes itself heard in the prologue in the pathetic words : “ The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not.” And this plainly presupposes that

¹ Light, 'tis the great middle being,
Touching God and touching man :
When the world came to its birth,
Already was the Light begotten ;
Thus was the brightness of the Uncreated
The mystery of created universe.—TR.

light and darkness are contrasts, which have their anti-types in the domain of spirit. They are contrasted principles, however, which do not come to manifestation in the present world in an absolute form. For the essential character of the present is the mingling of light and darkness. Day and night are so far from being absolute contrasts, that the sky-blue of a bright day remains visible in a starry night,—I read only the other day a Christmas song which began with this address to the evening star,—

Wo schaust du hin, du Silberstern,
Aus deiner blauen Nacht.¹

So evil casts its dark shade over the good of man, and the good darts rays even through the night of evil. Only heaven and hell represent the contrasts in their absolute perfection. This perpetuation of the unharmonized dissonance does not satisfy, but the view into the future which God's Word allows, extends no further. Enough, that hell as well as heaven is God's creation, and must yield praise to Him who says of Himself: " I form the light and create darkness, I make peace and create evil, I am the Lord that doeth all these things."

With these antitypes of light and darkness before us, we ask the question, What is their relation to the knowledge of the typical, *i.e.* of the natural light and its contrast, which science furnishes ?

One thing is certain: the illuminating effect of light is due to vibrations, propagated by undulatory motion. The ray is the line described by the vibrations of the

¹ Where tends thy glance, thou silvery star,
Out from thy deep blue night.—TR.

light in its undulatory course. But if light is an effulgence which is due to vibrations, and moves in the form of waves, the question arises, What then is the substance which vibrates and undulates? Here experimental knowledge is at a complete standstill, and hypothesis begins. The matter of light, we assume, is an extremely subtle, elastic substance, and, to distinguish it from air, we call it ether. If this ether is an elastic substance, one would naturally think that light would be propagated in vibrations proceeding in a straight direction like sound, the waves of which are propagated by impulses parallel to the line of projection; whereas it is propagated in vibrations, which take place in a plane at right angles to the direction of the ray. The hypothesis is thus exposed to a difficulty like that of the two electric fluids which, when they are discharged, produce the electric stream, which shows itself in the electric spark. The hypothesis does not clear the mystery in the one case any more than in the other, but its relative truth at least is confirmed by the fact, that it affords a basis on which the phenomena can be explained by natural law.

We say, therefore, that light is ether in motion. A body becomes self-illumined when the ether held in tension between its molecules begins to vibrate. Its light is propagated by those vibrations being communicated to the ether which fills space. Bodies on which light falls, become visible by reflecting in all directions the light which falls on them. Colouring is determined by the colour of the light which falls on the object, or, if this is not single-coloured, by those colours of the light which the body reflects in a greater or less measure, while absorbing

certain others, or reducing them to a degree of which our eye is no longer susceptible. The colour of light itself is determined by the time of its vibration, and this measures the length of its waves. The slowest vibrations, about 450 billions in the second, and consequently the longest waves, produce the colour-sensation of Red. The quickest vibrations, about 800 billions in the second, and consequently the shortest waves, and so the most refrangible rays, produce the colour-sensation Violet. The arc of vibration determines the quantity of light, and the length of the wave determines the quality of the light or colour. If the kinds of colour combined in daylight fall simultaneously on the retina of our eye, we experience White; and if the substance which we see gives back none of the light which falls on it, but wholly absorbs it, it appears to us Black. White is the union of all colours, black is the negation of all colours. If black reflects any light, it is not a pure black. In pure black all light is absorbed, and, as it were, killed and buried.

If now we compare the biblical terms and ideas with these scientific facts, they have many points of contact. But no anachronism could be more stupid, than to read into the Bible discoveries of natural science, which were not made till after the time of the Reformation, and were the fruit of untiring observation and experiment, in combination with the insight of genius. Now and then we hear that the earth is called *erez* in Hebrew, from *ruz*, *to move* (*run*), because it moves round the sun, or that water has the dual name *majim*, because it consists of oxygen and hydrogen. These can only be regarded as poor witticisms; for the earth is called *erez*, not because

it moves, but because we move on it, and *majim* is not a dual at all, but a plural, denoting water as a union of fluid particles. As little has the Old Testament name of light, *ōr*, anything whatever to do with the wave and vibration theory. But it is worth while remarking that the Semitic languages, by a peculiar felicity, denote light as vibration; for the special root-sound in *ōr* is the quavering sound *r*, which is formed either by a vibration of the tongue (the front *r*) or with the vibration of the uvula (the back *r*). The phenomena of vibration which guided man when he was yet at the stage of childhood to the formation of this word for light, were the glancing of the rays of the sun, the twinkling of the stars, the flickering of the taper, the darting of the lightning, the playing of the flame.

Of ether vibrations antiquity knew nothing; but when science defines darkness as ether in a state of fixity, i.e. the cessation of motion in ether, this falls in remarkably with biblical modes of representation. For motion, life, and light are interchangeable Bible conceptions, and stillness, death, and darkness are their opposite. According to the gloomy Old Testament view of the other world, the one relief from which is faith in the living God, the realm of death is the land of stillness and darkness. The name of Edom is modified by Isaiah into the name of Dumah, which means stillness, to indicate that a gloomy future awaits Edom, which will wring out the question addressed to the prophet in anguish of spirit: "Watchman, is the night quite gone?" And when proclaiming a like fate to the Chaldeans, the prophet says: "Sit thou silent, and get thee into darkness, O daughter

of the Chaldeans!" The very name of darkness in Hebrew designates it from the idea of compression and condensation. Here we have a hindering and arresting, the opposite of speed, with which the light flies (hence poetry gives wings to the dawn and to the sun), or, as we can also say in biblical language, with which its waves speed on, for in the verb *nahar* the ideas of proceeding in waves and rays are united; the names for river and for light are both formed from it.

Again, when science defines black as the appearance of a body which absorbs all light and reflects none, this is in keeping with biblical modes of thought and expression. Of course we cannot expect this real definition of black in the Bible, but the idea of absorption essential to it is thoroughly biblical. To swallow, in the language of the Bible, is to abolish and render invisible. No doubt, when we read that "death is swallowed up in victory," the relation is reversed; light is the absorbent, for death is darkness and victory is light. But when in Ps. cvii. it is said of the shipwrecked who can find no way of deliverance: Their wisdom is swallowed up (marg.), the meaning is, that despair envelops them in darkness; or when Isaiah says of the false prophets: They have swallowed up the way which thou shouldest go, the meaning is, that their preaching leaves the people in darkness as to the way in which they might be saved.

Again, black and white are the extremest contrasts in holy Scripture. Black is where light and its colours have vanished. When the final judgment brings the history of this world to an end, the sun, according to Joel's prophecy, is changed into darkness and the moon

into blood, or, as the seer of the Apocalypse has it: The sun becomes black, and the moon as blood, *i.e.* dark red, or black with a reddish hue. Thus what is said of the sun does not mean that it shall be enveloped in dark clouds, but the meaning is that the heavenly luminaries of the earth cease to yield their light, because, as it is otherwise expressed, they withdraw it, and their motion ceases.

Again, black is the result when the bright complexion is lost, and the colouring which healthy blood gives it. "My beloved is white and ruddy," exclaims the Shulamite, when celebrating his beauty. So Homer says of Menelaus, his skin was like ivory tinted with purple. And Jeremiah, speaking of the nobles of Jerusalem, says that the snow-white or milk-white of their bodies was blended with coral-red, and that their appearance was as of sapphire: but how has their comeliness vanished with the desolation of Jerusalem! Their visage has become "darker than blackness," they are no more recognisable when they appear in the streets, their skin cleaves to their bones, it is withered like a stick. This vanishing of colour and moisture is the consequence of famine; and for the same reason the third of the four riders in the Apocalypse, who brings dearth, goes forth on a black horse.

The common Hebrew word for black has for its root idea that of "covering," for black is to light as a cover, hiding it and preventing it from passing. And the German "*schwarz*" (*black*) is connected with the Latin *surdus* (*deaf*), which not only denotes one who is insensible to the impressions of sound, but also any object which does not give forth such impressions. Newton in reckoning the seven prismatic colours was guided, as is

well known, by the analogy of the Phrygian musical scale ; but altogether apart from this, the human mind in the formation of language compares notes and colours. In Hebrew, for example, the names for the sound of the horn and the red of dawn, for leek-green and the blast of a trumpet, are formed from similar roots. This analogy meets us also in the word "*schwarz*." As Propertius calls the lyre which gives no sound, *surda lyra* ; that is black which gives back none of the light that falls on it. The objects which we call black are not so in the full sense of the word, because they, after all, reflect more or less of colourless or coloured light.

We have also the testimony of language, that the black, which nature and art present to us, does not correspond fully to the idea. Under this name it includes also the dark hues which approach black. What we call the grey of the morning, is called by the Semite the black of the morning. Dark red wine passes among the Semites sometimes as red, sometimes as black, as in Italy at the present day it is called *vino nero*. Nay, in contradistinction to white, even green appears to the Semite as black. Once on a time, when the territory of an Arab tribe was visited with drought, three spies were sent out in quest of pastures. One of them wished to praise the magnificent green meadows of the region which he recommended as their resting-place, and how did he express himself ? "The face of the land," said he, "is like the night, so green is it all." This wavering in the designation of colours is found even in the Greek of the New Testament. In Mark we read that our Lord makes the five thousand, whom He is about to feed, sit

down on the green grass. The name for green is *chloros*, but the same name is applied to the colour of the horse of the fourth rider in the Apocalypse, who brings death in all its forms and who is followed by Hades. Night is green, somewhat like the dull green of the olive or sage leaf, and death is green in the sense in which jaundice is called chlorosis, that is to say, green in the sense of yellow and fawn.

Similarly, the name white embraces under it the relatively as well as the absolutely white. In the full sense of the word, the rays of the sun, and those which proceed from a body raised to white heat, are white. Those rays are white, because all the colours in the spectrum are united in them. But even the common daylight is not absolutely colourless, nor does the direct light of the sun itself appear white. It seems yellowish, or, to speak poetically, golden. Only when it is refracted by the prism do we find that it is the colourless union of all colours. Yet the Arab calls the day white. Instead of saying "night came on," Hariri says, "the white day became black." Moonlight nights, too, are called "white nights;" and the moon bears two names in Hebrew, one of which describes it as white, the other as yellow. For the language gives the name white also to what is yellowish. The fields, says Jesus, are already white to the harvest; the ripening ears are white, as distinguished from the green blade. The byssus of Elis, Pausanias tells us, is not inferior in fineness to that of the Hebrews, but it has not the same beautiful yellow. Yet byssus, among sacred colours, represents white, not yellow, as Arnold Ewald thinks possible in his treatise on colour.

motion (1878). The latter could only be represented by gold, which, however, is considered, not in respect of its colour, but of its brilliancy and preciousness. Neither is our linen perfectly white; we bleach linen to take the colour out of it, without, however, always succeeding in the same degree, and never perfectly. Pure snow is whiter than the whitest linen. The sunlight of day shining on the snow is more nearly colourless than that which is reflected from the innumerable facets of the tiny crystals of ice which form the snow. And so Mark says of the Lord when He is transfigured on the Mount, that His garments became glistering white as snow, so as no fuller on earth could whiten them. But Matthew says, as if he had studied optics: "His face did shine as the sun, and His garments became white as the light."

White and black have direct significance, because light is white, and darkness is black, everything appearing white which reflects the light without diminution, and everything black which absorbs it without reflection. Beyond this, colours become symbolical only because definite objects to which they belong get to be associated with them in thought. We regard red as the colour of love, because we think of the heart's blood in which it makes itself felt. Green is with us the colour of hope, because we think of the green of plants which dies out in winter, to reappear in spring. Blue is the colour of fidelity (in English we speak of true blue). Thus we find in the High German poetry of the middle period: *blå is staetekheit, blå bezeigt die minne* (blue is stedfastness, blue denotes love). How this has come about appears from the literature of the great branch of the human family

to which we belong. True love is called in Sanscrit devotion as imperishable as *nilâ*, i.e. the colour of indigo. Yellow, as the colour of envy, appears first in the Middle Ages. Freidank's Modesty says: *Gruene gel und weiltn dar sol diu nilvarwe sin*, that is to say, green, yellow, and blue, such as woad, German indigo, yields. Blue, as the colour of the air, is also used to express what is groundless; lying and deceit we call *blauen Dunst* (*blue vapour*), and old wives' tales, *blaue Geschichten*,—in French, *contes bleus* (*blue stories*). A recent writer on aesthetics makes blue the tragic colour, associating it with the heaven-storming Titans; yellow, the colour of comedy, associating it with the merrily dancing flame, mirth-giving wine, etc. Green he makes the colour of humour, because it is formed of blue and yellow, and is the colour of the rankly luxuriant growth between birth and death, pleasure and pain, the colour of what is juicy and moist, flowing and bubbling. Such fanciful specimens of wit must not be allowed to disgust us with the symbolism of colour presented in popular proverbs, poetry, and cultus. But they show plainly that no colour is symbolical in itself; that it acquires symbolical value only by associations more or less close.

But it is otherwise with black and white. These are symbolical in themselves, they mean what they are. That is black which absorbs all colours and reflects no light of the sun; light perishes, and the colours are buried in it. Therefore it denotes mourning and death, and of the quarters of heaven it denotes the north. White, on the other hand, is that which gives back the light of the sun unimpaired; all colours are glorified in it, and it

comprehends them all within itself. Therefore it denotes purity and victory. And the Persian horses in the eighth vision of Zechariah are white, because no great monarchy ever showed a purer or nobler disposition toward Israel than the dynasty of the Achæmenidæ, which set them free from exile, and promoted the building of the temple. And the first rider in the Apocalypse has a white horse, because he "went forth conquering and to conquer."

The revealed religion of the Old Testament saw clearly the meaning of white, which pertains to its very being. There was therefore nothing arbitrary, but a lofty necessity, in its adopting white as its leading liturgical colour. The other liturgical colours were purple-red, purple-blue, and scarlet, but white always stands either first or with emphasis in the last place. White was the ground colour of the veil which divided the sanctuary, of the curtains which covered it, of the attire which distinguished the high priest, and the garments of the priests were exclusively of white linen. In extra-biblical literature we are told that the firstborn, before the choosing of the tribe of Levi, and that Moses, before and during the consecration of Aaron, performed their sacred functions in white garments; and this is a just inference from the customs of later times. White denotes purity, or, what is nearly the same, holiness; for holiness is separation from the impure; the Holy One of Israel and Light of Israel are parallel designations of God. The priests are clad in white as servants of the Holy One, and as those who should be the people's examples in holiness.

Among metals, silver corresponds to white linen as the image of purity. Speaking of the princes of Jerusalem,

whose ignoble character contrasted with their nobility of birth and rank, Isaiah says : " Thy silver has become dross." And when three deputies from the exiles of Babylon brought a contribution of silver and gold for the temple, Zechariah received instructions to make a double crown of it, one, that is, of silver, and one of gold, and to put it on the head of the high priest Joshua, as the type of the future *Zemach* (*Branch*), who was to be king and priest in one person. The silver crown is the priestly, and the golden one the kingly distinction. What byssus and purple-red are among linen and woollen stuffs, that silver and gold are among metals. For silver is white, and gold among the Semites passes as yellow or red.¹ When the Caliph Muâwija derided the Sasaâ as a barbarian, in the words, " O red-face," the latter proudly answered, " Gold is red." Even in our old popular epic poets, Wirnt and Wolfram, we find *rötez golt* (red gold); and Meyfart, the singer of the heavenly Jerusalem, joins gold and purple without distinguishing between yellow and red,—

Was ist das gûldne Stück
Bon Golb, Bierd und Geschmûck?
Golb ist nur rote Erd,
Die Erd ist nicht viel wert.

Was ist das rot Gewand,
Das Purpur wird genannt?
Bon Schnecken aus dem Meer
Kommt aller Purpur her.²

¹ The Mischna, *Joma* iv. 4, distinguishes between yellow and red gold, the latter as the more costly.

² What's all your gaudy prate
Of gold, ring, costly state?

Corresponding to the images of glory and purity among the metals presented by gold and silver (the Egyptians called it white gold), are the golden sun and the silver moon among the lights of heaven. The sun produces the impression of sublimity, and the moon, with its white on a dark ground, that of purity. The world of flowers has also its pair of figures. The purple rose is the queen, and the white lily the priestess of the flowers. The latter is thus addressed by Rückert,—

Glänzende Lilie
Die Blumen halten Gottesdienst im Garten,
Du bist der Priester unter der Familie.¹

As in Old Testament Scripture, so in the New, white is the appearance of those who are devoted and consecrated to God and His service. When Paul says to the Galatians: "As many of you as were baptized into Christ, did put on Christ," he takes his figure from the toga, the putting on of which by the Romans betokened the transition to the age of manhood. But this toga was white. The Psalmist says of God, that He is clothed with light as with a garment. Daniel sees the Ancient of Days, *i.e.* the Everlasting One, in a snow-white

Gold is but ruddy earth,
And earth's but little worth.

What is your red array
That's purple, as they say ?
From out the sea from snails
All that is purple hails.—Tr.

Beauteous lily !
The flowers hold their service to God in the garden :
Of all thou'rt the priest in the fair family.—Tr.

garment ; nay, even with white hair (not like that of one grey with years, for the exalted Christ also, as seen by John, has white hair, *i.e.* radiant with light). And so also God's angels, when they become visible in human form, as at the resurrection and ascension, appear in white garments. The saints above, also, who are with God, are beheld by the Apocalyptic seer in white robes. This clothing of the intermediate state is called by the Ancient Church *stola prima* (*first robe*), in contradistinction to *stola secunda* (*second robe*), the glorified body which comes with the resurrection. It is made white in the blood of the Lamb, *i.e.* by the purifying and transfiguring power of this blood. Everything in the Apocalypse is white which relates to the heavenly kingdom of light and its victory over darkness. The throne of God, as seen by Ezekiel above the crystal firmament, is like a sapphire stone, that is, it appears to him deep blue. But when the visions of the New Testament seer extend beyond the history of time to the forms of the eternal world, that same throne is white. "I saw a great white throne, and Him that sat upon it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them." The throne is white and not sapphire-blue, when before the glance of the Divine Judge the world of sin and death passes away, to give place to the new transfigured world of righteousness. For blue is the colour of the sky pervaded by the sunlight, and white is the immediate appearance of the sun itself ; blue denotes the softened Divine Majesty condescending to man in grace, and white denotes the victory and triumph of light finally

gained in the way of grace. White in Greek is called *leukos*, and this is related to *lux*, the name of light.

The official dress of the ministers of the Church has also been white from the first. The Apostolical Constitutions require the bishop to appear at the altar in a bright dress, and surrounded by priests; and a bright dress, according to the usage of the time, means a white one. Catechumens were required to be clad in white on the day of their baptism, and so Gregory Nazianzen says of the clergy officiating on such occasions,—

Und die Gottesgehilfen in lichtrein glänzenden Kleibern
Stehen als Abbild hold-seliger Engel dabei.¹

All liturgical vestments—the dalmatica, the tunic, the surplice, the girdle, the pallium—were originally white, and only later were they coloured or variegated. From the time of Constantine, the apostles are represented in the philosopher's mantle, and that of white. On one of the mosaics of Ravenna, the so-called procession of the apostles, their mantles and tunics are alternately coloured white and yellow. In the Koran the apostles, as being clothed in white (in their pictures, namely), are called *el-hawârijjân*, i.e. the white ones. It is true the Church-historian Socrates relates, that a Novatian bishop of Constantinople, of the fourth century, was censured, because he wore, not black, but white; but it is his everyday clothing that is in question, for black was unheard of for official dress except on days of mourning.

¹ And God's good servitors, in garments bright as the light,
Stand like the figures of gracious angels around.—Tr.

When the Patriarch Acacius, in the year 475, at Constantinople, clothed himself and his seat in the church and at the altar in black, it was in token of mourning over the assaults of the Emperor Basilicus on the Council of Chalcedon. White was, down to the Middle Ages, the chief liturgical colour for East and West. In the West it was varied significantly on certain days with red, green, violet, and black, but with black only at Advent and on fasts, or when, for any other reason, the prevailing reference was to sin and death. Even at Advent and on fasts, black was largely supplanted by violet, and became limited to Good Friday, masses for the dead, and burial services.

Our German Reformers did a good and necessary work when they sifted and simplified the wardrobe of the Church of that day, so complicated, ostentatious, and in some respects babyish, as it had become. But we may commend them for avoiding the radical extreme to which the Swiss Reformation went, and for recognising the seemliness of distinguishing between the secular dress and the official vestments of their ministers. The great closing vision of Ezekiel, in which he beholds the future commonwealth of Israel, also stands in a reforming relation to the Mosaic cultus; it abolishes hierarchical distinctions in the priesthood, and reduces liturgical colours to *one*, but that *one* is—white. In this vision-given Torah, as in that of Moses, black is wholly excluded from the cultus. Should it not all the more be excluded from the New Testament cultus? Black is darkness, but Paul says of Christians (1 Thess. v. 5): Ye are all children of the light and of the day: we are not

of the night, nor of darkness. Black is the keeping up of esoteric mystery. Christianity, on the other hand, though prepared in secret, addresses itself with the completest unreserve to the conscience of all men according to the words of its Founder: "What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light; and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye on the house-tops." Black is death and condemnation, but the apostle says of the New Testament ministry in comparison with the Old (2 Cor. iii. 9): "If the ministration of condemnation is glory, much rather does the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory." Black is trouble and mourning, Christianity is the religion of joy. Our Lord proclaims this fact by working His first miracle at a marriage feast. The normal condition of Christians is not sadness, but joy, even in the midst of trouble, as the apostle says (Phil. iv. 4): "Rejoice in the Lord alway!" Black is the dress of penitents and Lenten preachers, but the Christian preacher finds his pattern neither in Elias nor his counterpart John the Baptist. Penitence is only the preparatory step to that fulness and power of grace which have appeared in Jesus Christ; this he has to proclaim; he finds his pattern in him who, by the mouth of the prophet Isaiah, chap. lxi., exults in the glory of his office, and cries out: "The Lord hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, He hath covered me with the robe of righteousness." Garments of salvation are certainly garments of light, as the Psalmist says (xxvii. 1): "The Lord is my light and my salvation." And the robe of righteousness is certainly not black, for it is byssus (fine-linen), which, as the Apocalypse (xix. 8) says, denotes

the righteousness of saints. Thus black is in every respect in contradiction to the essential character of the New Testament religion and of the gospel ministry.

Yet in our Church black has become the chief liturgical colour. In rightly breaking with the Romish doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass, it was thought necessary at the same time to set aside all priestly vestments connected with the mass. Thus it came about that nothing survived except the black gown, now in the form of a close-fitting coat, again in the form of a wide gown, sometimes with open sleeves, sometimes without sleeves at all. The raising of this black clerical costume (*vestis communis*) to be the official dress was contrary to ecclesiastical tradition. This required as the very first part of ecclesiastical dress, that the white humeral and the alb, the long one flowing down to the feet, or at least the short alb, the surplice, should be put over the black soutana. We owe it to the Leipsic interim of the year 1548, that a form of the alb like a scapulary has been maintained as a liturgical vestment in Old Saxony. Frederick William I. of Prussia forbade the alb in 1730 in favour of the Reformed, but Frederick II. again allowed it in 1740, and Frederick William III. decreed that the alb, or as it is called in the Cabinet order of 20th March 1811, the surplice, wherever it was in use, should be worn over the prescribed black gown. To these are added the frilled collars and the so-called bands;—whatever may be thought of them artistically, they are at least white, and so of the ancient and natural colour appropriate to divine service.

True, the dress of the clergy is an *adiaphoron* (matter

indifferent), yet it is seemly when the external appearance corresponds in a significant way to the inner nature. It is outrageous when dress is so capriciously determined as that of the Venetian nobles. At a time when Venice was carrying on the commerce of the world in scarlet stuffs, they chose black as the colour of their order, so that down to the present day gondolas in black ply as if in funeral procession in the canals of the City of the Doge. Let us hold fast to our white on a black ground ! Black exclusively admits of no meaning corresponding to the nature of Christianity ; but white on black impresses us by the contrast, and yields a meaning. Black denotes penitence, and white the righteousness which is of grace, and which is gained in the way of repentance and faith. So Gustav Jahn, in his precious "Hohenlied in Liedern" (Song of Songs in songs), makes the Shulamite say :—

Schwarz bin ich, schwarz geboren,
Doch weiß im Gnadenstand.
Weiß bin ich erst geworden,
Als ich mich schwarz befand.

Schwarz ist vor Gott verdammet,
Denn Gottes Kleid ist Licht.
Weiß kann ich mich nicht nennen—
Schwarz läßt mein Herr mich nicht.¹

¹ In myself, still black remaining,
I am naked, poor, and mean ;
But since mercy thus enfolds me,
Glorious, rich, and mighty seen.

Black indeed I am by nature,
White, by heavenly love adorned.

In reference to the person of the preacher, black denotes that he has died to the world and its pleasures ; and white, that as servant in the spiritual world he lives and walks in the light of God. Therein also is expressed the way in which the Church, whose minister he is, follows her Head. It leads through death to life, through defeat to victory, and so through darkness to light. Black is the lost glory of the present, and white the glory of the world beyond, which is grasped by faith and disclosed more and more to vision.

Nay, the light beyond will reveal colours to us, for which we lack the power of sight here below. Our colour-sense is limited, beginning with the extreme red of the spectrum, and terminating with the ultra-violet, beyond which it can scarcely go. Our life is as a shadow, and everything fair with which it is furnished, only a phantom, a finger-post pointing upwards ;—and the prismatic colours and their combinations belong to the shadows of heavenly things. Therefore it is that in the Apocalypse gold and crystal and pearls and precious stones, with all their play of various colours, are laid under tribute to give to the unveiled but still sense-bound eye of the seer, an image of the heavenly Jerusalem ; and no mortal, on whom a ray from above

He bestowed on me my whiteness,
When my blackness first I mourned.

Blackness meets His condemnation,
For the robe of God is light ;
Since myself I cannot alter,
He must make His chosen white.

—ANNA M. MAY.

has fallen, giving ever so fugitive a foretaste of that glory, can help saying with the poet,—

Das war so prächtig,
Was ich im Geist gesehn!
Du bist allmächtig,
Drum ist dein Licht so schön.
Könnt' ich an diesen hellen Thronen
Doch schon von heute an ewig wohnen!¹

¹ So glorious it shone
What I in spirit beheld !
Thou'ret the Almighty One,
Hence is Thy light unparalleled.
If only those bright thrones beside
I might from this day evermore abide !—Tr.



III.

Purple and Scarlet.

III.

PURPLE AND SCARLET.

COLOURLESS light is the union of all colours. When passed through a prism, it forms the beautiful succession of colours which we call the spectrum. The coloured rays appear, from the one extremity to the other, more and more divergent from the direction which the colourless white ray would have taken had there been no refraction. Farthest from this direction is the violet ray, and nearest to it the red. The red ray is thus the first which light gives off when it is broken up. This is also shown by the fact, that invisible light first becomes visible as red. When heat rises to glowing intensity, the red rays are those which first become perceptible, and as the glow, and with it the vibration of the body increases, it gives forth yellow, and then white rays, rising to the brightness of the sun. The rapidity with which the rays of light or heat are propagated is the same in all. The ether particles, however, vibrate more slowly or more quickly, and corresponding to this the ether waves are longer or shorter. The longer ones are, because of their length, more powerful and less refrangible. The shorter ones, because of their shortness, weaker and more refrangible. And this it is which determines the various colour-sensations. The red rays have the longest waves, and are the most potent; the violet

have the shortest waves, and are the feeblest. The laws regulating the propagation of light and the phenomena of colour, arising from its various radiations, refractions, and combinations, are ascertained with mathematical exactness; nevertheless, light is a great wonder, and in its last principles an unexplored mystery.

As human investigations into the nature of light come on impassable barriers, over which they can only get by way of hypothesis, so the human capacity for colour-sensation is narrowly limited. The seven colours we distinguish in the spectrum are not so many sharply separated rays, but whole groups of rays which we name from their collective impression. The scale, rising from red to violet, embraces an endless number of transitions which we cannot fix. And beyond violet there are yet other colours, which are either dimly or not at all discernible by us, because the duration of the vibration of their rays is too short. Some of them have waves of such length that they are known as a faint glimmer, the so-called lavender-grey of the old naturalists. By the help of experiment others beyond these may be made visible, but we are far from being able to command their full range. The rays of heat also, which have all the physical properties of those of light, are to a great extent invisible to us. We see the rays of a body in red or white heat. But colder bodies also give forth rays, which can be registered by a sensitive thermometer, but to which our eye is altogether insensible. If the light-sense and the colour-sense of the eye were not thus limited, all bodies would probably appear to us as more or less self-luminous.

Their degree of brightness may be so low as to become invisible to us, or it may be so high, that our eye cannot bear such a light-sensation. The light from heaven which shone round Paul before Damascus prostrated him to the ground.

The beauty of colour in the objects seen will contribute its part to the blessedness of vision in the future world. This is symbolized by the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in the Apocalypse. The city is of pure gold, and that, transparent gold like clear glass. The wall, above which it towers, is founded on twelve precious stones of different colours, beginning with jasper and closing with amethyst; and twelve gates of pearl lead through the twelve walls, each having its own colour, into the city with its golden streets. Even within the course of human history a process has been at work, by which the colour-sense has gained in subtlety and command of varying hues; and, if so, we may surely expect that in the glorified body in the future state it will reach a perfection which is denied to it here on the earth. For the variety of colour is infinite, while our colour-sense here below is confined within fixed limits. And how miserably does language halt behind the development of the colour-sense, wholly impotent as it is to reflect the impressions of colour in corresponding words, or even to designate a single colour by its specific character! The utmost it can express is the brightness or darkness of luminous phenomena, the more or less of the quantity of light, but never its quality — that is to say, its colour.

To this imperfection of human speech the language of

Holy Scripture is no exception, for the Bible is not a book which fell from heaven, written in such unspeakable words as Paul once heard when he was caught up to the heavenly paradise; but it presents to us what God has decreed and provided for our salvation through the instrumentality of human testimony, and therefore bearing all the marks of time, race, and individuality. We have an example of this in the biblical and especially the Old Testament names of colours. Colour-names, such as might be taken to reflect the peculiar character of this or that colour, are no more to be found here than in any other human language. The rendering of the impression, made by the various colours, moves, so far as we can understand the radical meanings of the names, within the range of such ideas as the following :—The ideas of light and glow give us the name of white; those of consuming and reducing to carbon that of black; those of bright and thick, or dark, that of bright red, *e.g.* of the chestnut horse, and the name for dark red, *e.g.* of blood. Mixed colours must be content with the names of the simple colours. The word for white also denotes yellowish, *e.g.* the colour of the moon; the word for red also denotes reddish-brown, *e.g.* the ruddy countenance of David, the shepherd-lad; the word for black also denotes grey, that, *e.g.*, of early dawn. One and the same word denotes green and yellow, the root-idea being that of toning down, in comparison, that is, with the more luminous colours. And hence language is forced to use it not only to express the healthy green of the sprouting grain, but also the sickly yellowing of blighted fields and of the human countenance, nay, even the pallor of the dead.

The Old Testament language has no adjective whatever for blue. But it is due to an odd mistake that it does not appear in Luther's translation. Though without an adjective for blue, Old Testament Scripture knows a blue shell-dye, namely, purple-blue, or more exactly purple-violet, which is called *techēleth*. The old Greek translation and the Latin ones render this word by *hyacinthus*. It is still doubtful, however, whether we are to understand thereby the colour of the precious stone or of the flower, which both bear this name. Anyhow, the colour-name refers either to a blue stone or a blue flower, not at all, perhaps, to our hyacinth, but to the blue larkspur (*Delphinium Ajacis*, L.) or a blue species of sword-lily. Luther, however, in uniformly translating hyacinth by *gel*, *gelwerck*, *gele seide* (*yellow*), was misled chiefly by the orange or yellow of the precious stone (a bastard kind of zirkon), which in his time, as it is still, was called hyacinth. At the same time, yellow was for him the chief colour of the flower so called, though not that which we now call hyacinth, because the *hyacinthus orientalis* was not transplanted into German gardens in 1530, and the yellow variety was not in existence for nearly two centuries thereafter.

Purple-red and purple-blue are both dyes derived from shells, but here again language betrays its inability to express the character of colour by designating purple-blue by the name of the shell *techēleth*, and purple-red, as a parti-coloured dye, by the name *argamān* (in Aramaic, *argewān*). Both, in accordance with the law, entered into the religious services of the Hebrews, even during the forty years between the exodus from Egypt and the

entrance into Canaan. Thus it is taken for granted that woollen stuffs were already in use, which were coloured with both shell-dyes. And this supposition is not improbable, though neither purple nor scarlet has yet been discovered in the monumental language of ancient Egypt. In the very earliest times purple was a monopoly of the inventive and artistic Phœnicians, who were well known to the Egyptians. They were the great traders of the Syrian coast of the Levant. In later times the Phœnicians discovered shellfish yielding purple on other coasts, and there they settled or put up factories. Ezekiel, accordingly, when describing the mart of Tyre, expressly mentions purple imported from Elishah, *i.e.* probably Lacedemonian purple from the Peloponnesus. Such Greek purple was manufactured in the inland city of Thyatira, to the north-east of Smyrna, where that Lydia, whose heart the Lord opened for the gospel, was a seller of purple, *i.e.* sold purple-dyed yarns. But the oldest site of the purple trade was Tyre itself, and it was so even long before it had eclipsed the ancient Sidon. At the present day, in the neighbourhood of the miserable ruined village which bears the name of ancient Tyre, there are found clear traces of those purple dye-works which were celebrated far into the Christian era. Close to the beach circular basins are found hewn in sandstone, from two to eight feet in diameter, and from four to five feet deep, some of them connected by ducts. Some are empty; several, however, contain fragments of shellfish, which cannot have been floated thither, but must have been placed there in ancient times by human hands, for their angular points are cemented together so as to form

a kind of breccia. They are remains of the purple shellfish, and these remains tell us most certainly what sort of molluscs they were from which the purple was got at Tyre. There are a good many kinds of marine snails with and without shells, which, when irritated in any way, give out a red or violet fluid. But none of these is the genuine purple snail; the colour of their discharge grows pale after being some time exposed to the air and daylight. The genuine purple snails are, as has been shown by E. von Martins, in his able treatise on *Purple and Pearls* (1874), the *murex trunculus*, and the *murex brandaris* with its spines and long feelers; to the same class belongs that kind of Mediterranean sea-snail which is now called *purpura*, and more particularly *purpura haemastoma*; but the remains found in the neighbourhood of ancient Tyre all belong to the *murex trunculus*, and those found near Taranto in Southern Italy, and in the Peloponnesus, belong to the *murex brandaris*.

The dye taken from these shellfish is not their blood, but the slimy secretion of a gland which they have in common with all snails. This secretion is not at first red or violet, but whitish. When exposed, however, to the sunlight, it begins to colour like a photographic surface, and passing through shades of yellow and green, settles into the purple colour which is a combination of red and violet light; and this mixed colour, having sometimes more of a blue, sometimes more of a red hue, is ineffaceable. Pliny says that the red of the Tyrian purple is reckoned most precious when it is like curdled blood, and when, as seen from above, it appears black; when looked at sideways, it reflects the light falling on

it. And of its purple-blue, he says it is a dusky, or, to use the fashionable expression, a cold colour, which resembles a chafing sea, *i.e.*, as Von Martins explains, the sea when a storm is brewing, or the dark blue colour of the Mediterranean when it is overcast by the dark sky, and the waves are rising.¹ Purple was still costly in the time of the Roman supremacy. A pound of that violet-purple which came first into fashion, cost in the last days of the Republic 100 denarii, *i.e.* over £4. And a mantle of the best purple of Tyre, such as the luxurious habits of the empire required, cost 10,000 sesterces, *i.e.* over £100, and this was counted cheap rather than dear. Now the purple of shellfish is a thing of the past. Even at the beginning of the Middle Ages, the command laid on the Israelites by the Mosaic law to wear fringes on their garments, could no longer be carried out, for, so runs the self-dispensing ordinance, we have no longer any purple-blue. Those inhabitants of the sea, which in countless numbers were once crushed and torn, have now rest, only disturbed at rare intervals by some shell collector or zoologist. For the ancient purple could not compete with that of every hue which is now artificially produced by chemical processes.

Another red, more of a yellow or brown-red, than the blue or black red of purple, was furnished to the ancient world by a small insect of the size of a pea, which draws

¹ To the same effect the Midrasch says that purple-blue, as a colour of the Mosaic cultus, is an imitation of black fire. See my article "Farben in der Bibel" in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, 2nd edition, vol. iv. p. 488.

its nourishment from plants of the oak and other kinds, by piercing and sucking them. This insect was taken for a berry (*coccus*) of the tree itself, and so was called *coccus*; the oak to which it is attached is therefore classified as *quercus coccifera*. But so early as in the language of the Mosaic law, which also turns this dye to account for the purposes of its cultus, we have the animal as such recognised; both it and the dye it yields are called *toláath schani*, i.e. bright worm and bright worm colour. In Persian the worm is called *kirm*. From this word is derived the name given to this bright red from the time that the Jewish people came under the Persian supremacy. In the Book of Chronicles we find it called *karmil*;¹ the Romanic *vermiglio*, *vermeil*, i.e. worm-red, is like the word transferred. A similar designation, though different in root, is found in the Turkish, Persian, and Arabic *kirmiz*, *kirmizi*, which is heard in the Romanic names of red hues, carmine and carmoisin (carmesin). The name scarlet, also, which from the Middle Ages downwards has been in use for the dye of the *coccus* insect, is Turkish.

This *coccus*-colour was among the Greeks and Romans the proper colour for the military cloak, especially that of a commander. And so it is a scarlet cloak which, according to Matthew, is put on the Saviour by the soldiers in Pilate's judgment hall. Mark and John say, purple, for the language of the people did not distinguish the two kinds of red. The words were still more

¹ See on the subject my paper, "Die Altertümlichkeit der elohistischen Farbenbezeichnungen," in *Luth. Zeitschrift* (1878), pp. 590-596.

frequently interchanged when, in the Middle Ages, purple was supplanted by the more fiery, and more easily obtained, scarlet. Hence it is that Luther, in his translation of the Bible, uses now purple instead of scarlet, and again scarlet instead of purple. For scarlet, however, and for it only, he has the special name rosin-colour, or rosin-red; the common rose-red is indeed brighter than scarlet-red, but Pliny also says that scarlet resembles the rose somewhat, though when looked at obliquely it is more like purple-red. It would now be very difficult to put this to the test. For the purple of the shellfish has gone quite out of use, and though the ancient kermes insect has not yet disappeared as an article of commerce (the so-called kermes berries, or scarlet kernels, are still used for dyeing, and make carmine and lac); but far more in request than the *coccus ilicis*, i.e. the scale insect of the oak, is the *coccus cacti*, i.e. the scale insect of the cactus, the cochineal which comes chiefly from Mexico and Peru, of which the ancient world could know nothing. But if it be asked whence the Israel of the time of Moses had its red worm-dye, the answer is here, as in the case of double-dyed purple, that they got it from Phoenicia. For even Solomon, when he wishes a skilled worker acquainted with dyeing in purple and *karmil*, sends to his good friend the king of Tyre; and this bright red is called by the Greeks and Romans *φοινικοῦν*, *phænicium*, *pænicium*, *punicum*, i.e. Phœnician or Punic red. The French *ponceau*, which denotes the red poppy and its colour, is the same word.

Purple-red, purple-blue scarlet, and white,—these are

the four colours used in the Mosaic cultus. Of four colours, *i.e.* woven of threads of four colours with inwrought cherubs, were the ten curtains which formed the inner roof of the tabernacle; of four colours with cherubs was the veil which separated the Holiest from the Holy place; of four colours, the curtain which covered the entrance to the Holy place, and that which covered the entrance into the outer court; of four colours were the ephod, the girdle, and the breastplate of the high priest, which was fastened with golden rings and chains to the ephod. Of three colours, to wit, purple - blue, purple - red, and scarlet, were the pomegranates which adorned the fringe of his robe. Of one colour, white namely, were his under robe and his mitre. Of one colour, namely purple-blue, were the fifty loops which held together the ten lowest curtains of the tabernacle, the cord by which the breastplate was fastened to the ephod, and that by which the diadem with its inscription, "Holy to Jehovah," was attached to the mitre. Of one colour, also, sometimes and mostly purple blue, sometimes purple-red, were the coverings of the sacred furniture of the tabernacle when it was carried from place to place; and of one colour, white, were the clothes of the ordinary priests, with the one exception, according to the testimony of Josephus, of their parti-coloured girdle. When to these we add the purple-blue cord, which the law required to be attached to the so-called fringes on the dress of the Israelites, we have before us the entire application and distribution of the four sacred colours.

It is thoroughly original. To suppose it borrowed

from the Egyptians is impossible, for the names of purple and scarlet have never yet been found in the monumental language of Egypt. That the selection of the four colours is not determined merely by taste, but has a religious purpose, appears from the fact that not only black but yellow (gold excepted) and green are excluded. Darkness and Hades are black, but the sanctuary is the place of Him of whom the congregation sings: With Thee is the fountain of life, and in Thy light do we see light. Mourning in feeling and dress is black, but the call which summons to the house of God has for its keynote: Serve the Lord with gladness, come before His presence with singing. Yellow and green are the colours of the earth, they are out of place where God sits between the cherubim and heaven has come down to earth, where, as we have it in the Epistle to the Hebrews, everything is a pattern and shadow of heavenly things, and so a finger-post pointing heavenwards. But not only is the exclusion of black, yellow, and green significant; the chosen colours are of themselves significant. This may be concluded from the fact that purple-red appears alone in only one instance, and scarlet alone not at all. The colours which appear by themselves are exclusively purple-blue, and white, which is the basis of all other colours.

Before inquiring, however, into the symbolical meaning of the four colours, we must premise that no colour has any symbolical meaning taken in itself, but only through association. With the abstract colour-impression there comes to be connected in our consciousness the idea of a certain object, and this object represents the colour, so

that the latter immediately suggests it. No doubt the various colours, according to their degree of light and heat (that is, their relation to yellow-red), give rise to various moods when they are quietly and clearly reflected by the mind. Red stimulates, and when present in a high degree disturbs. Yellow exhilarates. Green, whether with Goethe we regard it as the equipoise of yellow and blue, or of light and warmth, stirs without exciting. Blue has such a tranquillizing effect that, as has been recently observed, maniacs become quiet in blue apartments, and hysterical patients get relief from their fits. Ultramarine and brown together have a pathetic influence, and are therefore suitable colours for the dress of the *Mater Dolorosa*. But these moods do not give the colours the character of symbols. Yellow, for example, is rightly called the colour of mirth and jest. In our modern times, indeed, it passes as the colour of envy; but this is to be understood, not as a consequence of its impression, but only because of the sunken, yellow face of the envious, which we associate with it. This symbolism has its history, for not only the impressions of the colours, but the associations relating to them, vary greatly in different times and peoples. Green passes in antiquity as a pale colour. Among the Egyptians it is, along with black, brownish, and yellow, a colour of the deities which had to do with death and the dead, and was therefore unsuited to be the symbol of hope. Among the Mandingoës, in the region of Sierra Leone, white is the colour of peace; among the Ashantees and many negro tribes it is the colour of joy; while among the natives of Terra-del-Fuego it is the colour of war;

and red, on the contrary, is the colour of peace and friendship. Thus, in seeking to explain the real meaning of the sacred colours of the Old Testament, we must beware of admitting modern or alien associations, and confine ourselves within the circle of ideas familiar to antiquity, and more especially to that which is Israelitish and biblical.

We start from the assumption, that the four colours of the priestly garments point to the duties which belonged to the priestly office, or, in other words, to those divine operations in which the priests, and above all the high priest, were to act as mediators. We naturally begin with white. For white was the colour of the priestly vestments in general. Even the high priest wore his so-called garments of gold (robe, ephod, breastplate, and diadem) over white. The Levites, who conducted the temple music, were required by David (according to the chronicler), and later by King Agrippa, to wear white garments. In the temple of Ezekiel's vision every article of priestly dress is purely of white linen, to the exclusion of every variety of colour. Thus white is the fundamental colour of the priestly official dress. But light is white. The garments of Jesus, on the Mount of Transfiguration, became, Matthew tells us (xvii. 2), "white as the light." And what created light is to the world of nature, that God is over all creation and for every creature. He is light, and dispenses light; or what is the same, He is holy, and, in particular, Holy Love. His priests are clad in white, as servants of the Holy One, called as such to stand out before the congregation in the light of holiness. They are dressed

in white, as mediators of holy love, and as such called to bless the congregation and to say: "The Lord make His countenance to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee."

The yellow-red of scarlet forms a pair with white as its counterpart. Yellow-red is the colour of fire. The dark red horses in Zechariah's first vision bring bloody war, and the yellow-red bring consuming fire. Light and fire, when regarded ethically in Holy Scripture, are contrasts: light, the image of beneficent love; and fire, of destroying anger. Jealousy, yes, and God's jealousy, because of His love despised, has in Hebrew the name of that bright, glowing red which it produces. And Isaiah (i. 18), when he would portray the sin which challenges condemnation, calls the sin not red like purple, which would be wholly unsuitable, but red as scarlet. As scarlet is the colour of fire, so it is that of sin and of the anger which sin awakens. Scarlet with white in the dress of the high priest, therefore, means that he is a servant of that God who is holy not only in His love, but also in His anger, of Him who says of Himself: "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God;" and of whose holy love passing over into anger against His apostate people, Isaiah (x. 17) says: "The light of Israel shall be for a fire, and His Holy One for a flame." There is a tradition which says that over the door of the temple hung a strip of scarlet, which became white when the scapegoat had reached the wilderness; but that in the last days preceding the destruction of Jerusalem it kept its colour. The meaning of the tradition plainly is, that the ministry of the high priest, on the great day of atonement, either

procured grace which removed sin, though scarlet-red, or anger which leaves it unpardoned and visits it with punishment.

That white and scarlet are to be taken as forming a pair, appears from the fact that purple-blue and purple-red, whether side by side with white and scarlet or between them, are placed inseparably together. The ancient purple dye was enormously costly, and the impression it produced was strikingly magnificent; and hence purple garments are mentioned in the Book of Judges as worn by the Midianitish kings, and undoubtedly, even in the time of Moses, purple was the symbol of sovereign dignity. Not in Egypt, indeed, where the Pharaoh is represented in priestly fashion, in a garment of the finest transparent white. Thus the purple of the high priest's garments means that he is the servant of that God of whom it is declared, in the song sung on the shore of the Red Sea: "The Lord shall reign for ever and ever."

But purple-red and purple-blue are only two kinds of the same colour. This is not a simple colour, but a combination of red and violet; all the colours of the spectrum taken together, if green be excluded, also yield purple. The two kinds of purple, therefore, point to the twofold manifestation of the heavenly King; purple-red to God's majesty as the exalted One, and purple-blue to God's majesty in His condescension. Even taken in itself, the impression produced by purple-red is severe and earnest; whereas purple-blue has a soft tranquillizing effect. And whereas purple-red suggests the God of judgment who, when He frowns in anger, changes the

heavens into blackness and the moon into blood, purple-blue suggests the God of peace, who overarches the earth with the blue of heaven, like a tent of peace. And, moreover, purple-blue bears a relation to a never-to-be-forgotten incident belonging to the time of the giving of the law. For, when Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and the seventy elders were summoned to Mount Sinai, they saw the God of Israel, and there was under His feet "as it were a likeness of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in its clearness." It was not the blue of the sky itself which they beheld over them, but a marvellous blue, like the most transparent sapphire, and the clearness of heaven in its most perfect beauty. By this the high and lofty One, who had condescended to reveal Himself on the earth, made His presence known. Israel had just made their vow of fealty to the covenant, and now God presented Himself in this way to the representatives of Israel as the covenant God. From that date purple-blue was associated in the consciousness of Israel with that God who had condescended to enter into covenant with the nation. It was in this light that the Israelite was to regard the purple-blue of his fringes. And while, during the wanderings in the wilderness, the altar of burnt-offering was to be wrapped in a covering of purple-red, and the other vessels of the sanctuary in purple-blue and scarlet, sealskins being put above all, the ark of the covenant, with the veil of the Holiest of All, is distinguished by having the sealskin covering put inmost, and the purple-blue covering being preserved above to meet the eye of the spectator. If you ask the question, Why? there is an

old Jewish interpretation which gives answer: Because purple-blue is like the sea, and the sea like the firmament, and the firmament like the sapphire stone, and the sapphire stone like that throne of glory which the representatives of Israel beheld when the law was given on Sinai. The answer is perfect; purple-blue distinguishes the holy things which, above all others, serve to express God's condescension in the midst of His people, and to secure sacramentally the blessing of the covenant relation. We shall therefore not be mistaken if we say purple-red and purple-blue in the vestments of the high priest point him out as the servant of the high and lofty One, who is at once exalted above all, and faithful to His covenant. And with this there harmonizes very closely the Jewish cabalistic doctrine which distinguishes three colours of the rainbow—white, red, and blue: making white the principle of grace as the right side of the divine character, red the principle of severity on the left side, and blue the attribute of mercy as the pillar between them.

IV.

Academic Official Dress and its Colours.

IV.

ACADEMIC OFFICIAL DRESS AND ITS COLOURS.¹

SINCE the 4th of November 1743, when our university was founded, many a theme has been handled by its Vice-Rectors on their entrance upon office. And the German university system is so incomparably rich in personalities and developments, ideas and relations, that the material for addresses is still far from being exhausted. Indeed, it is to escape as far as possible the torture of choosing from the mass of material which offers, that I take up a theme which lies to my very hand, and ask, What is the meaning of these caps, black, scarlet, green, dark-blue, and of these like-coloured gowns ?

The theme is not unscientific. Any one who dips, however slightly, into such works as v. Hefner-Altenbeck's *Dresses of the Christian Middle Ages*, or v. Eye's and Jac. Falke's *Art and Life of Early Times*, will not doubt that my subject falls under the viewpoint of science as well as of art. The proof, indeed, is not given in such works, which are purely illustrative and descriptive,

¹ This Lecture was originally delivered by Dr. Delitzsch in the *Aula* (Public Hall) of the University of Erlangen, on the occasion of his installation as Vice-Rector, on the 4th November 1859. For the sake of the English reader, it may be mentioned that the University of Erlangen has no Rectors, but Vice-Rectors ; or rather, the King himself is Rector of the University, and so Rector Magnificientissimus.
—Tr.

but in a treatise by the antiquarian Jacob Falke just named, entitled, *Die Deutsche Trachten und Modenwelt* (the German World of Dress and Fashion), the history of dress is carried far beyond descriptive empiricism to the rank of science. All through, it traces the changeful succession of fashions to its final grounds, mental and moral, ecclesiastical and civil. And thus the history of dress is treated in its profoundest connections as an essential part of the national life, and so as an integral portion of the history of culture. This work is a pledge for the scientific character of my question ; but far from answering it, it has not a word on academic dress. Von Hefner's magnificent work leaves us in the very same position ; and our older literature supplies no material to make up for this blank. Thus, even in the interest of scientific progress, it is well that the question be raised, in order that some time, if not now, it may be satisfactorily answered, for everything that carries us beyond a merely superficial knowledge is an enriching of science.

Neither is the theme untheological, and therefore unworthy of a Vice-Rector, belonging to the Theological Faculty. For whether we look to the beginning, middle, or end of Holy Scripture, we are met with the subject of dress. Looking to the beginning, we read that God made coats of skin and therewith clothed fallen man : thus dress appears as a gift of God. If we look to the middle, we read that Isaiah beholds the Lord on a throne high and lifted up, and His train filling the temple : dress appears as something godlike. And if we look to the end, we read that the spirits of the just made perfect are clothed in byssus - white garments : dress appears

as something heavenly. All that is, from the Being of beings down to the lily of the field, according to the biblical view, has its dress, whether one self-produced or one taken from without; it has a dress whereby it at once conceals and reveals its nature. But it is not only dress in general, but official dress in particular, that has a theological interest. For no small part of the Mosaic Pentateuch treats of the official dress of the priests, and pre-eminently of the high priest. We have his purple-blue robe, with the parti-coloured pomegranates and the ringing golden bells at its hem; the shorter tunic over it of fine twined linen, with inwoven threads of gold, purple-red, purple-blue, and crimson; the purple-blue turban, with its golden plate, fastened by purple-blue cords, etc. Nay, I might even take these priestly Aaronic vestments as the starting-point of my address. I should have better right to do so than our revered ancestors, when they delighted to begin the history of universities with the School of Paradise, or at least from the Beth-ha-Midrasch, that is, the High School of Shem, the son of Noah, or certainly from Kirjath-Sepher, the alleged university town of the Canaanites. Or I might quote in my defence a French writer on heraldry,¹ who starts from the time when Adam bore a red escutcheon, to remind him of the red earth from which he was created; and on this red escutcheon a black apple, to remind him of his sore fall.

But since that happy time is gone, when one could spin out such a question as that before us to quartos and

¹ This French writer on heraldry, of the sixteenth century, is the advocate of the Paris Parliament, Jean le Feron, in his *Histoire des Connestables, etc.*

folios, I had better start at once from the 4th August 1827. This is the year and day of that sovereign rescript, which in the name of His Majesty the then reigning King Louis, and after the example of the University of Munich, regulated the official dress of the professors, both of Würzburg and Erlangen,—the dress we are now wearing in honour of the day's celebration. "As to their robes," says the royal rescript, "the Theological Faculty wears black ; that of Law, scarlet ; that of Medicine, green ; that of Philosophy, dark blue." How much trouble it cost till the expensive arrangement was carried through, and how many attacks it had to bear even when completed, is shown by the Minutes. It is rather surprising to find that when our Frederico-Alexandrina¹ was required to come into conformity with her sister in the Residency town, it was regarded as an innovation. It was really nothing more than a restoration. For the official dress of our professors has been almost the same since the foundation of the university. On the memorable 4th of November 1743, the professors in the procession—which first of all halted at the market-place to receive the insignia of the university exhibited in the castle, and then marched to the church of Neustadt to celebrate the solemnities of its foundation—wore four-cornered caps of four colours, and gowns to correspond. The colour of the Theologians was black ; that of the Jurists, purple (*phœniceus*) ; that of the Philosophers, violet (*violaceus*) ; and only the colour of the Medical Faculty differed from what it is to-day, in being not green, but blood-red (*sanguineus*), as the history of the festival says,

¹ The name of the Erlangen University.—Tr.

or, as Lammers expresses it in his history of the town of Erlangen, *incarnat* (carnation). Thus the royal ordinance required only the restoration of the original state of matters, the green excepted, which became the dress of the honourable Faculty of Medicine ; and this change of the Medical blood-red into green, resulting in the change of the purple of the Jurists into scarlet, was, as we shall see, a thoroughly significant innovation.

Returning, then, to my question, I divide it into two : What is the historical, and what the permanent significance of these caps and gowns ?

The head-dress of the German student has changed more than once since the Thirty Years' War. Then his broad cocked hat of black velvet, with aigrette, was changed for the military hat with feathers. Then came the period of wigs, hair bags, and queues. When these monstrosities happily disappeared, it became the common modern cap. But there was a time when the student was not allowed to wear a cap, at least not a high round or four-cornered one ; but if he dressed according to regulation, he wore a long toga, falling down to his feet, with a cape ;¹ even the Bachelor and Licentiate were obliged to content themselves with this *caputium cucullatum*. The beretta was the distinction of those who had gained the highest academic degree, that of Master (afterwards Doctor) in Theology and that of Doctor in the

¹ No one is entitled to use a beretta publicly—says a Freiburg enactment quoted in Schreiber, *Geschichte der Stadt und Univ. Freiburg im Breisgau*, i. 2. p. 34—unless he has the degree of Master : under penalty for the first offence of six, for the second of twelve placks [German plapperten = 3 kreuzers each], *et ita in infinitum*.

other Faculties. The bestowment of the beretta (*bireti impositio*) formed a prominent part in the conferring of degrees. Cape and beretta distinguished the lower from the highest graduates, as they did the inferior from the higher clergy. The beretta was originally round. A theologian of the Sorbonne, Jean Launoy,¹ has left a notice that the form of the *biretum quadratum cornutum* (four-cornered) was worn in Paris in 1520. To the same effect is the written testimony of a regular canon belonging to an abbey in Soissons² in the year 1708 : "More than four hundred years ago our berettas received their four-cornered shape ; they are woven wholly of wool, and have four horns, as it were, which project upwards a very little." The berettas of our professorial dress are thus genuinely clerical.

And our gowns ?—They have not the form of the old *Tabardus*,³ with its many folds. They want the ornamentation which the Strassburg professors still retained in the French period, the so-called *chausses*, i.e. the hoods falling from the shoulder before and behind, and bordered with ermine, in respect to which an old enactment of the Greifswald Faculty⁴ says, that the Dean must

¹ Jean Launoy in his book, *De vera causa secessus Brunonis in desertum*.

² See his report, in the form of letters, in Hippolyt Helyot's *History of the Orders of Monkhood and Knighthood*. From the French. Vol. ii. p. 114.

³ The *Tabardus* is *vestis rugata* [garments with folds], see Tomek, *Geschichte der Prager Universität*, p. 37.

⁴ See the appendices containing original authorities in Rosegarten's *History of the University of Greifswaldt*, p. 210 : Item conclusum fuit quod decanus pro tempore ad singulas convocationes, similiter ad magistrorum disputationes publicas, debet incedere alatus ad minus,

appear on solemn occasions, if not *in tabardo*, at least *alatus*, winged. But to our gowns applies what the Italian jurist, Guido Panziroli, says in his *Variae Lecturees*: "Afterwards, when the Doctors began to wear for their distinguishing dress long priestly garments and the four-cornered hat, they were called clerics, and others, in contradistinction, laymen." Thus these gowns of ours also are genuinely clerical.

Shall we take offence at the fact? We should not be the first. We could appeal not only to German professors, but even to a German Emperor. Herm. Couring, in his *Antiquitates Academicæ*, sees nothing but hierarchical objects in our academic dress. Though he has to confess that he does not know when the Rector's purple gown and the silver maces became customary, yet he maintains that the purple gown is the counterpart of that introduced by Paul II. for cardinals, and intended by the Pope to withdraw the universities from the supremacy of the Emperor and subject them exclusively to his own.¹ Christian Thomasius, the famous champion of the national system [in opposition to the

si non tabardo poterit commodiore magistrorum more vestitus, donec magistris major arrideret pinguiorque fortuna (It was also resolved that the Dean for the time, in attending convocations or the public disputationes of the Masters, should at least be *alatus* [winged], if he cannot wear the *tabardus* after the more convenient fashion of the Masters, until a larger and richer provision be made for the Masters).

¹ Couring speaks of the official dress with disgust: sed et parum refert, hujus *Parva* (liceat mihi quod res est fateri) originem primam accurate novisse. But it is of very little consequence to make out accurately the first origin of this fantastic show (if I may call a spade a spade). See his seven dissertations, *De Antiquitatibus Academicis*, *Diss. v.* § 20, p. 163.

papal], agrees with him, and thinks that the Rectors may retain the purple, but under protest against the view of the Pope.¹ More severe was the judgment of the Emperor Joseph II., who in 1784 abolished all academic official dress whatever, and in particular the gown of the Rector, because "by the monk's hood stitched on behind, it betrayed the dark times when the Papal See arrogated to itself the exclusive right of establishing universities."²

Our caps and gowns, as the gift of a Protestant prince, run no risk of such misrepresentations. For the Frederico-Alexandrina is a national institution, not sanctioned by the Pope, nor by Pope and Emperor, but by the Emperor alone, and has for its pattern *Alma Mater* the University of Halle, which was founded at the instigation of Thomasius. Our official dress, however, dates from the year of our foundation, for, as Councillor Gadendam, the first Vice-Chancellor of our university, writes, the munificence of the royal founder went so far, that he presented those whom he had invested with the office of public teachers also with their costly dress. And this official dress, with its ecclesiastical character, must surely have some better meaning than that we have simply to protest against its proper meaning. The

¹ Thomasius in his *Diss. de Jure circa colores*, the fourth of his Leipsic *Dissertationes juridicae*. There he says, § 58: *Jure retinere possunt habitum istum purpureum Rectores nostri, non approbantes videlicet intentionem Pontificis, sed potius perpendentes, se a principibus hanc habere purpuram eorundemque repräsentare personam* (Our Rectors may properly retain their purple dress, without sanctioning, however, the intention of the Pope; but rather esteeming that they have it from their princes, and represent their persons).

² See Phillip's *Vermischte Schriften*, vol. i. p. 464; aus Kink, *Gesch. der Univ. Wien*, vol. i. p. 112, note.

Christian Church and the Christian State are not radically related to one another as yea and nay. And therefore the secularizing of the universities, while detaching them from the guardianship, at least the exclusive guardianship, of the heads of the Church, cannot have been intended to convert them into unchurchly—that is to say, anti-Church—State institutions; and a university may be a national and, therefore, from the first a secular foundation, without being divorced from the spiritual organism, the common faith, the universal work of the Church. That our Frederico-Alexandrina in particular is at once national and churchly, and even with a due combination of freedom and restraint a confessional institution, is apparent to every impartial observer from its anniversary festival and its statutes.

Coming back, then, to the question, What mean these caps and gowns? we may answer they signify that we are members and servants of a body which, though not subject in its regulations to the oversight of the Church, is yet, both personally and in respect of the sciences which the several Faculties represent, in living connection with the Church. Whether the domain of our investigations be the divine plan of salvation, or human legislation, or the laws of nature, or universal history, with the history of civilisation and the languages and the final bases of all things, always and everywhere it is one and the same light which illuminates our diverging paths: that spiritual light, without which the European universities would never have come into being, the light of Christianity, the bearer of which is the Church. We give testimony to this to the present day, by bestowing

degrees only in the name of the Triune God. And in this relation to the Church, there is no oppressive restraint. So far is Christianity from enslaving science, that the latter owes to it its emancipation and freedom. And therefore our predecessors, in bestowing the first degrees in the year 1743, after making the *renunciatio in nomine Sacrosanctæ Trinitatis*, designated the cap which they put on the heads of the new Doctors, *signum libertatis*.

Nevertheless the academic *pilei impositio* cannot properly claim this meaning, which was transferred to it from Roman law. The four-cornered cap is a clerical or priestly symbol. Thus Guido Panziroli, who died a member of the Faculty of Law in Padua in 1599, proceeding on this more correct view, says: "The insignia of our Doctors are gown and *pileus quadratus*, such as the priests wear, to indicate that the priesthood of justice (*justitiae sacerdotium*) is committed to those who are created teachers of law." Yes, the ministry of science is a priesthood. For science ministers to truth, and truth is the divinely established element, that which endures and approves itself; as the last ground, God Himself is the truth of all things, and therefore science of the right kind is a priestly service of God. The Theological Faculty serves the God of grace, who has shown mercy to sinful humanity in Christ Jesus. The Faculty of Jurists serves the God of law, who has established the family and the State and nations. The Medical Faculty serves the God of life, who has ordained the laws of life and death. And the Philosophical Faculty serves the God of wisdom, who has implanted in the human mind the impulse to analyse all that is into its final elements and bases. It

is one and the same God whom they all serve, only He reveals Himself in manifold ways in different domains. They are children of one truth, as colours are the children of one light. Light is one, but the colours into which it falls are many.

There are universities in which from ancient times only two colours have been used, one for each pair of Faculties, as at Leipsic and Tübingen:¹ purple for Law and Medicine, violet for Theology and Philosophy. This phenomenon cannot be explained even by those who were nearer to the beginning of it. In answer to the question why the Law Faculty wear purple, Cothmann and Middendorp answer: *quia regibus assident*, i.e. because they rise to the dignities which are nearest to princes. But Thomasius in his original work *De jure circa colores*, or of law in relation to colour, is not satisfied with this answer, for in Leipsic not only does the Dean of Law wear a purple mantle, but also the Dean of Medicine. Or might he have been thinking of the old well-known saying: *Dat Galenus opes et Justinianus honores* (Galen gives wealth and Justinian honours)? He is still more exercised by the question, why the theologians have not purple but violet; and he thinks it is to be explained by the fact, that originally there were only *magistri*, not *doctores theologiae*. That is true. An Imperial rescript of Charles V. to the University of Vienna in regard to the

¹ At Tübingen the Bachelor of Philosophy [Arts] wore a round violet-blue cap; the Bachelor of Theology, a four-cornered purple one. See Klüpeel, *Geschichte der Univ. Tübingen*, p. 18. The jurists, also, on being promoted received a violet-blue. See Muther, *Der Reformationsjurist Schürpf*, p. 7.

burning of Luther's writings is addressed: "To the worthy, our dear, pious, and faithful, etc., Rector, Masters, and Doctors." But the theological *Masters* have the precedence here as usual; and therefore the name of Master does not avail to explain the violet¹ worn by them, and which in dignity is certainly inferior to purple.

Our university having four colours, one for each of its Faculties, we have not such riddles to perplex us. We have not yellow for the colour of Philosophy, as at Strassburg. We can also boast that it is not with us as at Göttingen, Strassburg, and the Prussian universities, where two Faculties have a different red assigned them, an arrangement in which there appears a strange vacillation as to which purple belongs and to which scarlet. Purple is excluded from our colours, yet not quite. For if it is asked where it comes in, the Vice-Rector of this university has the honour above the Rectors of the two national sister universities, to answer that, as is shown by the royal portrait² over my head, it is worn by our *Rector Magnificentissimus*.

If now we examine the four colours of our Faculties, it deserves to be remarked that, when taken along with the white, which is common to all the Faculties, they are the five liturgical colours of the Western Church,³ the con-

¹ *Color Cœruleus est excellentior, postponitur tamen aureo et purpureo* (Blue is the more excellent colour, but it ranks after gold and purple). See Linnæus, *Jus Publ. Imperii Romano-Germanici*, vi. 6. 64–65. The Undergraduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, wore *togam coloris violacei* (a gown of violet colour) to distinguish him from the Doctors, who wore *toga coccinea* (a scarlet *toga*).

² An oil-painting of the reigning King of Bavaria, Maximilian II., in his coronation robes.—TR.

³ See the *Rubricæ generales* prefixed to every edition of the *Missa*, No. xviii.; comp. Hefele's *Beiträge*, vol. ii. p. 156.

stant use of which is attested from about the year 1200. Thus again is indicated the close connection between the Church and science.

The black of Theology seems, but only seems, to be most easily explained. For neither in the Old nor New Testament Scriptures is black to be found among the colours of holy places or of divine worship. Only when the priests of Jerusalem were unfit for service did they wear black. And when we reflect that the gospel of the New Testament announces not shadows but realities, not death but a life which overcomes death, not of gloomy mourning but blessed joy, that the watchword of the New Testament is, "The night is far spent, the day is at hand" (Rom. xiii. 12), and the apostolic confession, "We are not of the night, nor of darkness" (1 Thess. v. 5), it will be obvious that the colour of shadows, of mourning and of death, that no-colour which swallows up all light and reflects none, is wholly unsuitable for New Testament teachers; and therefore white, not black, was the liturgical colour of the early Church, and it was the monkish system which first brought black into honour. What, then, is the significance of Christian theologians being dressed in black? The best answer of antiquity is: *quia mundo mortui cœlestia conseruantur* (because, dead to the world, they pursue heavenly things): a fine answer when it applies, a bad answer if thereby a dispensation is given to the other Faculties consigning them to secularity.

It is only the glaring red of the Legal Faculty which supplies its own explanation, and yet I have not found this explanation put in a brief and pithy form by any

ancient author. I have consulted many libraries, and with this result, that the liturgy of the Church and secular love poetry created a significant symbol of colour, but that academical science had not made its colours a matter of conscious thought. Even Goethe in his *Farbenlehre* (Doctrine of Colour), that great poet, with deep insight into natural science, and Oersted in his two chapters on the Natural History of the Beautiful, that great naturalist of poetic insight,—even these two have left the colours of the Faculties unnoticed. And the most recent writers on the symbolism of colour leave us wholly in the dark, though one has found leisure to inquire what is the meaning of the Prussian national colours in Homer. Thus, unless I am to do violence to isolated notices from the works of ancient authors, giving them a forced connection, I am thrown on my own resources and the indulgence of this august assembly,—

Und so lasset auch die Farben
 Mich nach meiner Art verkünden,
Ohne Wunden, ohne Narben,
 Mit der läßlichsten der Sünden.¹

There are four spheres of life with which the four Faculties have to do: the mystical, the political, the physiological, and the speculative. The colours follow this division.

Theology has to do with the inner or mysterious life of

¹ So grant me too, in my own fashion,
 My views of colours to submit;
Without or wound or other passion,
 With sin the lightest to remit.—Tr.

Last lines of the poem entitled "Dem Cromatiker," *Werke*, i. 328.

man, which is determined by grace. We bear our treasure, says Scripture regarding this mortal life, in earthen vessels (2 Cor. iv. 7). And of the God of revelation it says : "The Lord said that He would dwell in the thick darkness" (1 Kings viii. 12), for when He reveals Himself He does it so as at the same time to hide Himself from the eyes of the profane. With this God of revelation, and with the life flowing out of and maintained by His grace, Theology has to do. And therefore to it black is allotted, for black is the colour of night, and so of mystery. The mystery of grace is in itself pure light, but on a dark ground, and behind a dark veil, through which only faith penetrates.

Jurisprudence has to do with the social life of man, which is determined by tradition and the letter of the law. The most crying breach of legal social order is the blood-red sin of murder, and the extreme satisfaction which is paid to the order of society thus outraged is the penalty of death. Therefore our Legal Faculty, as wielding the bloody sentence awarded to the deed of blood, has scarlet allotted to it ; for its burning red is the colour of fire, and therefore of jealousy and inexorable severity.

Medicine has for its domain the natural life of man and of animals generally, which is determined by physical and, in its higher departments, physiological or even psychological laws. Its occupation with the lifeless body is only a means to an end, for its final object is the knowledge and healing of the living. And therefore green is allotted to it, for green is the colour of plants, and so of that organic life which breaks forth from an

inorganic basis, and which blossoms and decays in accordance with natural laws.

And Philosophy finds its home in the life of human thought, which is determined by logical laws and the ideal tendency native to the mind, with the world of phenomena for a background. To it blue is allotted, of which an old theological author—quoted by Goethe—says, that it means “marking and thinking.” Such is really the case. It is not only on physical grounds that dark blue and violet light most appropriately represents spiritual reflection rising to the immaterial; it is still further appropriate from the fact that it suggests the blue of the sky, with the mirror of it in the deep sea and the blue summits of distant mountains. Therefore blue is the colour of Philosophy, and it is in keeping with the nature of this colour that the Philosophical Faculty is the least sharply defined. Moreover, the science of the ideal world is reminded by its blue most nearly related to black, of its relationship to the science of mystery; for Philosophy and Theology are sisters, which never fall out except when they do not understand one another.

In the olden times there was many a fight about the rank of the Faculties. On the question whether the Faculty of Law or that of Medicine should have the precedence, whole volumes were written. H. J. Scheurl,¹

¹ Heinrich Julius Scheurl in his *Dissertationum politicarum Decas*, 4, § 34: Consuetudine potius quam jure ceteris Facultatibus postponitur philosophica, quæ ducere ordinem istum disciplinarum (sola Theologia excepta) debet, quem nunc magno cum Ecclesiæ ac Reipublicæ detimento claudit.

Professor of Philosophy at Helmstadt, maintains that the Philosophical Faculty should come immediately after the Theological, and that it is the last at present he holds to be *magnō cum Ecclesiæ ac Reipublicæ detrimento* (greatly to the detriment of Church and State). No wonder, says Freinsheimius,¹ that the Theological Faculty is chief; the Popes honoured themselves when they gave it this honour. They gave the second place to the Juridical Faculty, on account of the canon law; and to the Medical next, by way of recognising their physicians. But Philosophy was then *nil*; and when it became something, it had to content itself, like a guest arriving too late, with the last place.

In this, as in many other instances, the old authors (for Freinsheimius does not stand alone) show themselves incapable of understanding the idea which lies in a historical fact. The order of the Faculties which still subsists is to be accounted for, so even Brehm² says, as

¹ So Freinsheim literally in his *Diatribe de Praecep. Elector. et Cardinalium*. His words are: Ne miremur, si Pontifices maxime honorarunt ordinem, in quo ipsi honorabantur. Is autem tum Theologorum vocabatur. Juris civilis nulla dum erat notitia, Pontificium obtinebat; hujus ergo Professores, jure suo locum primo proximum nacti, mox etiam Juris Justinianei consultos eodem perduxerunt, præsertim postquam utriusque fieri coepere. Neque sperti Medici poterant, quorum opera ipsi quoque Pontifices utebantur. Philosophia quæ tum erat nihil habebat, cur de primatu contendere. . . . Postquam emersit, jam occupatus erat locus, et . . . infimum in locum coacta est, secundum legem convivalem opinor, quæ sedes incommodiore decernit tarde venientibus. More to the same effect in Itter, *De Honoribus et Gradibus academicis*.

² Brehm in his *Altstämmern, Gesch. und neuerer Statistik der hohen Schulen* (1783), says in so many words, following older authorities, p. 147 f.: "Die heutige Einrichtung der Facultäten ist eine Erfindung der Clerisei," etc. (The present arrangements of the Faculties is an invention of the clergy.)

an invention of the clergy ! And yet in Paris, where the Theological first arose, no other Faculty had a right to the Rectorship, except the Philosophical. At Heidelberg, following the example of Paris, none but the Faculty of Philosophy bore the academic mace. And at the ultra-clerical Ingolstadt only the Dean of Philosophy was entitled on the day of the patron, or rather patroness, of the Faculty (for it was St. Catherine), to march in procession *cum sceptris*. And why ? Because the Faculty of Philosophy, says the annalist of Ingolstadt,¹ is the first teacher of the youth of the university, because she is the foundation and basis of the so-called higher Faculties, and because these are all under the deepest obligation to her *tanquam fideli matri*. He thinks of the Philosophical Faculty much more truly and honourably than Kant. For his mode of allaying the strife of the Faculties is so poor, that he says of the Philosophical Faculty, with proud modesty, it comes last, because "it alone is concerned with studies which are not taken as authoritative at the command of a superior." But we, most honoured colleagues, have only to look to our colours ; we need neither so bad a Menenius Agrippa nor a better one. We wear the four colours on white, for as all colours are children of the white light, so all the Faculties are children of one truth ; and each serves in its own way the God of truth, the Father of lights.

Fellow-students, who are putting yourselves under this fourfold light of the Frederico-Alexandrina, see that you do not put asunder what that divine wisdom, which

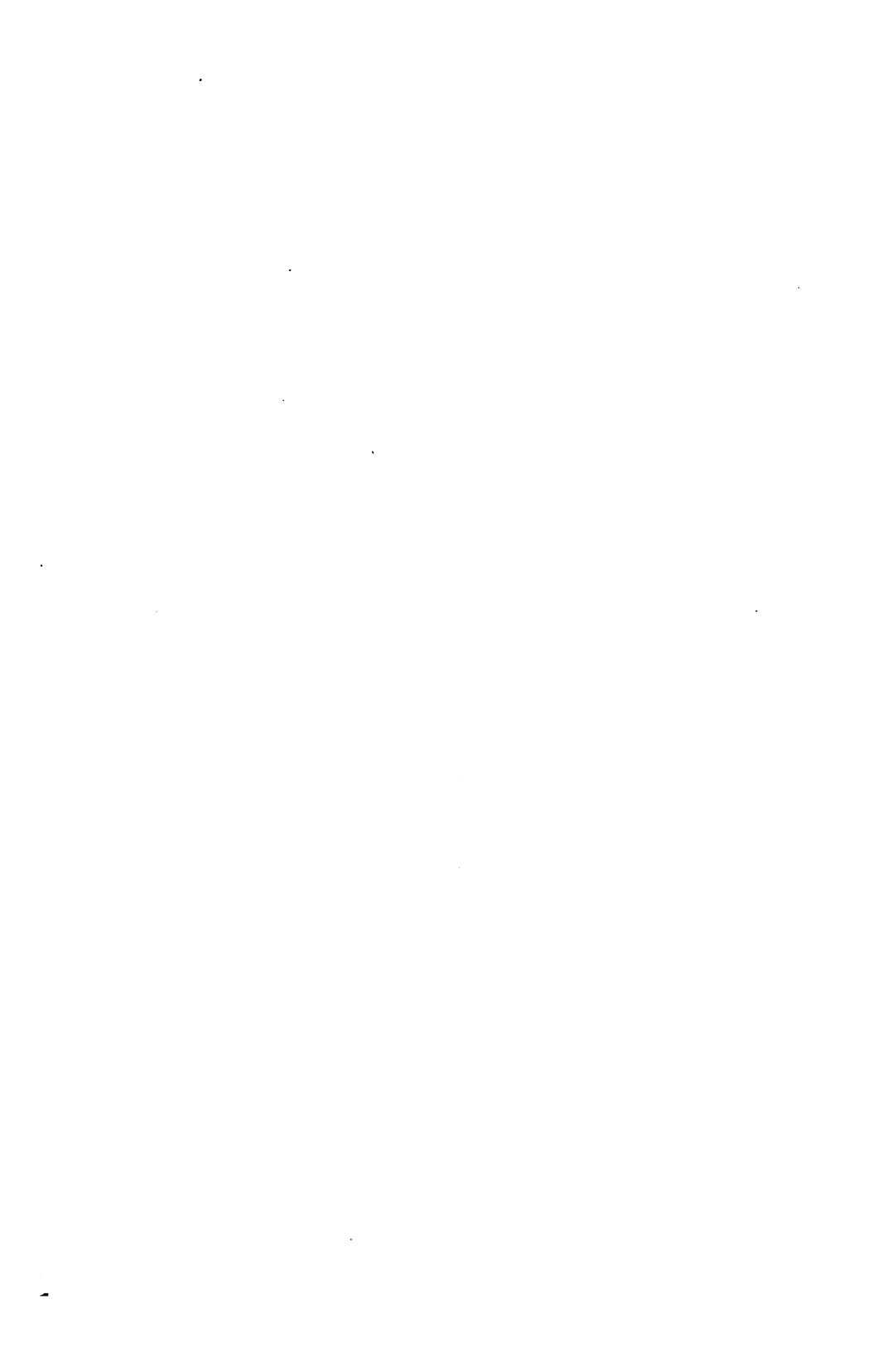
¹ Valentin Rotmar, in the work begun by him, *Annales Ingolstadiensis Academice*.

presides in history, has made one ! Whether gathered into societies (*Vereine*) or not, your colours certainly form a still more variegated display. May they all reflect the one light, the light of truth and science, nobility of disposition, purity of morals ! May they all be like the colours of the rainbow, which do not stand apart in hostile isolation, but together form the symbol of peace ! Yes, may God make the year of my *fasces* a year of peace, and pour out the fulness of His blessing on professors and students, and on the royal purple !



V.

The Talmud and Colours.



V.

THE TALMUD AND COLOURS.

IN contradistinction to the Torah, *i.e.* the five books of the Mosaic law, the Talmud is the codex of the orally transmitted law, which completes the former in various ways, expounding it, treating points of casuistry, and defining many subjects left indefinite.

This codex, like the Justinian, covers every domain of law, whether applying to the State, the individual, or the family, whether civil or criminal. Here we have all these departments regulated by the Jewish spirit, as in the other by the Roman. Its main portion, however, relates to all the sides and points of the religious ceremonial, by which Jewish life, both individual and social, is regulated down to its minutest particulars. And it is not mere *conclusions* as to what is valid in law which are set forth in this codex, under the appropriate rubrics. The discussions are given. We see, as in the action of a drama, how the result is reached through the conflict of opinions and the arguments *pro* and *con*. Learned men and schools of learning belonging to five centuries, the first five of our era, take part in the discussion; and the language of this jurisprudence and of its dialectic is so sharply and finely cut, that in

absolute contrast to clear and full exposition, it passes over into thought - ciphers and thought - abbreviations. It may be safely affirmed, that in the whole range of human literature there is not a more extraordinary writing than this Talmud, I should rather say these Talmuds; for there are two of them, one edited in Palestine about the year 400, and preserved only in an imperfect condition, and the more perfect and authoritative one, which received its final form at least a century later in Babylonia, under the then reigning Sassanid dynasty. The former, with the commentaries indispensably belonging to it, embraces four, and the latter twelve folio volumes.

This gigantic work, however, contains here and there lighter and brighter parts of a general, religious, and ethical nature, which, like oases in the desert, afford rest to the tired faculties. The hair-splitting exposition of law, *Halacha*, is followed now and again by a digression into proverbs, parables, and narratives, the so-called *Hagada*, of which Heinrich Heine in one of the Hebrew melodies of his *Romancero* speaks as a master:—

Letzte aber, die *Hagada*,
Will ich einen Garten nennen,
Einen Garten, hochphantastisch
Und vergleichbar jenem andern,

Welcher ebenfalls dem Boden
Babylons entsprossen weiland—
Garten der Semiramis,
Achtes Wunderwerk der Welt.

Hoch auf kolossaln Säulen
 Prangten Palmen und Cypressen,
 Goldorangen, Blumenbeete,
 Marmorbilder, auch Springbrunnen,

Alles klug und fest verbunden
 Durch unzähl'ge Hänge-Brücken,
 Die wie Schlingepflanzen aussah'n
 Und worauf sich Vögel wiegten,

Große hunte ernste Vögel,
 Tiefe Denker, die nicht singen,
 Während sie umflattert kleines
 Heißvolk, das lustig trillert.¹

¹ But the latter, the Hagada,
 I should rather call a garden ;
 Yes, a garden, most fantastic,
 Comparable to that other,

Which in days of yore was planted
 In the town of Babylon,—
 Great Semiramis's garden,
 That eighth wonder of the world.

High upon colossal pillars
 Palms and cypresses were standing,
 Golden oranges, fair flow'r beds,
 Marble statues, gushing fountains,—

Firmly, skilfully united
 By unnumber'd hanging bridges,
 Which appeared like climbing plants,
 And whereon the birds were rocking,—

Solemn birds, large, many-colour'd,
 All deep thinkers, never singing,
 While around them finches flutter'd,
 Keeping up a merry twitter.—BOWRING.

After a short saunter in this Hagada-garden, the tussle of the dialectic athletes ("Fechterschule der dialektischen Athleten") begins with reinvigorated force; and the matter soon again becomes so difficult, that even the Jewish disciple of the Talmud, in order not to lose the thread or the situation, begins to cantillate and gesticulate and sway the body to and fro. So subtle is it, so unintelligible apart from Jewish manners and training, and withal couched in such mysterious brevity, that the man who has not grown up in this atmosphere of thought, and been schooled from his youth in its forms and speech and its modes of legal inference, finds himself, as it were, in a labyrinth of woods or mountains, from which there is no hope of escape without a guide.

The Talmud may be regarded from various sides. It may be looked at from the standpoint of the history of law. To consider it thus demands a thorough training in jurisprudence, without which the law contained in it can neither be reconstructed in its systematic connection, nor in its historical development and assimilation of Greek and Roman elements. Only the faintest beginnings have yet been made toward the accomplishment of this task in such a way as the spirit of modern science demands. The learned and able jurist, Edward Gans, in his great work, *Das Erbrecht in weltgeschichtlicher Entwicklung* (The Law of Inheritance as developed in Universal History), treats also the Talmudic law of inheritance, a task for which he was pre-eminently fitted as a Christian of Jewish descent. More recently a Jewish lawyer, Leopold Auerbach, began to treat systematically the Talmudic law relating to bonds. The

first volume appeared in 1870, the second will probably have to wait till the science of law appropriates Goethe's words to the *Divan*, and says of itself,—

Wer sich selbst und andre kennt,
Wird auch hier erkennen:
Orient und Occident
Sind nicht mehr zu trennen.¹

A second side from which it may be regarded is that of the history of religion. To me, as a theologian, it comes as near as the juridical is distant. If I were to characterize the Talmud from this standpoint, I should certainly avoid two extremes. The one is represented by Emanuel Deutsch in his much-read article on the Talmud, which appeared ten years ago in the *Quarterly Review*, and which amounts to this,—that the Talmud is the ocean, and the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament an inland sea fed from its waters. The other is the course followed by August Rohlings, who has collected the silliest and filthiest matter which older polemical writers had extracted from the Talmud, and gives out these sweepings as a representation of the whole. To form a bridge between the synagogue and the Church, I should prefer, without prejudice to chronological order, to bring out what the Talmud contains which is related to Christianity, as was to be expected, to use the words of

¹ He who knows himself and others,
Here will also see,
That the East and West, like brothers,
Parted ne'er shall be.—BOWRING.
(*Werke*, i. 460).

Reuchlin against Pfefferkorn, in a "book written by Christ's nearest relatives."

For the present, however, the standpoint from which I consider the Talmud is that of the general history of culture. I shall seek to explain and illustrate by examples its relation to colour, and in general to the beautiful in nature.

The subject to which I wish to make a contribution is one that was raised twenty years ago by Mr. Gladstone's studies in Homer, which has recently been a favourite theme in Germany and England. Lazarus Geiger, who rose quickly into fame from 1867 by his able writings on the origin of language and on the origin and development of human language and reason, but who was snatched away by an early death in 1870 from the construction of his philosophy of history and the enjoyment of his fame, was the investigator who made the development of the colour-sense the latest order of the day in the parliament of science. In the year 1867, at a conference of naturalists at Frankfort-on-the-Main, in a glowing discourse regarding the colour-sense of mankind and its development, he showed that the organs of the sense belonging to man in ancient times, as compared with those of later ages, were still undeveloped, and had not yet been educated to the same manifold and sharply-defined perceptions. Since then, Dr. Stein in Frankfort-on-the-Main, Dr. Hugo Magnus in Breslau, and others have maintained that the colour-blindness which frequently occurs as a defect of training, is a relic of that impotency to distinguish colours, above which man has only gradually risen. And a survey of ancient literature establishes the

conclusion,—for the proof I can refer to two articles of the *Gartenlaube* of the years 1876 and 1877,—that the ancients were blue-blind, and in particular blind to the blue of the sky, especially of the day-sky. The observation from which this inference is drawn is certainly striking. In vain will a word be sought in the Rigveda, the Homeric poems, or the ancient Edda, in praise of the lovely blue of the bright sky. So, if we take the many folios of both the Talmuds, which are a thousand years later, and search them through and through, it will be equally impossible to find a current, unambiguous adjective for the blue sky. Thus at a time when the blue of the heavens is beginning to find an expression, at least here and there in Greek, and still more in Roman poetry, the Semite seems to remain as insensible to it as ever. Or must we suppose that the clouds of dust raised by their scholastic learning conceals from the Talmudic teachers the open and fair face of nature, and leaves no room for any warm interest in it? This view readily suggests itself, but turns out to be untrue.

The Talmuds, along with their dry law-prose, contain expressions and descriptions which betray a genuine and exact observation of nature, associated with a poetical style of thought. Here, for example, is a customary way of marking time: "From the hind of the morning over the east the light is breaking." The first rays of the morning sun, by which it announces its appearance before being itself visible, are compared to the fork-like antlers of a stag; and this appearance is called, Ps. xxii. 1, the hind of the morning, because those antler rays precede the red of dawn, which again forms the transition to

sunrise. The changes of the colour of the sky connected with sunrise take place more quickly in the East, and the sun mounts up more in a straight line. Accordingly the Talmud says, the pillar of the sun, also the pillar of the dawn and the pillar of the moon ascend ; and of the pillar of the moon it is said, it mounts straight as a star, while the pillar of the sun divides hither and thither, *i.e.* pours out its rays on all sides. When still under the horizon it works its way upwards, cleaving the firmament, as it were. Its breaking through is called its budding ; it stands in the sky purple or golden, like an opened rose. And the time between the down-going and setting of the sun, when the lower half of the horizon has lost its colour, while the upper half still retains it,—this twilight is called the time between the suns. When the walls of the horizon grow black, it is evening ; and when the upper half of the sky has lost its colour and has passed through grey to black, and the light of the stars shines from their dark background, it is night.

Such and similar descriptions of nature need not surprise us, for the Israelites could not follow the ordinances of their religion without careful observation of the heavens. The very first page of the Talmuds, in proposing the question when the evening prayer is to be said, plunges into exact determinations of the evening as it passes into night with the two twilights as its boundary, and the rising of the pillar of the morning as the dividing line between the night half and the day half of the whole day. The zenith of the night half is midnight, which, as is said, David knew, from the fact that the north wind, which usually rises about this time, set the strings of the

harp, which hung over his bed, a-sounding, so that, awaked thereby from his light sleep, he broke out in the words of the Psalm: Awake up, harp and cithern, I will awake the dawn! And in the Tract on the day of Atonement, it is related that when the ashes had been removed from the altar of burnt-offering, the person presiding called on the priests to go out and see whether the time had come for slaying the victim, as this must not be done so long as the night lasted. If the moment had come, he who first observed it called out, It lightens,—that is to say, the morning, or according to another interpretation, the morning star. Or he said, The whole eastern sky is red. And then the priests standing under the watch-tower asked again, Does the red reach as far as Hebron? If he answered, Yes, this was the watchword for beginning the morning worship. It is added that the latter question was put because on one occasion, on a cloudy morning, rays of moonlight, which shot here and there through drifting clouds, were mistaken for rays of the sun, and the morning lamb was sacrificed sooner than it should have been.

When the Pharisees and Sadducees asked of Jesus a sign from heaven, He refused, saying: Ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky, and can ye not discern the signs of this time? In fact, the law itself required sharp observation of the appearance of the sky, to fix the times of worship and the feasts which depended on the phases of the moon; and it would be extraordinary if those eyes dutifully directed to the sky had been unable to see and distinguish blue among its colours and hues, especially when we take into consideration how powerfully

the development and exercise of the colour-sense were furthered by the practical religious duties required by the law, especially in the domain of those examinations by which the diseased were distinguished from the healthy.

There is no passage in the Bible where we find so many names of colours as in that early portion regarding leprosy, in Lev. xii.-xiv., which has excited the wonder of modern as well as ancient physicians. The traditional law has introduced many refinements into the semiotic (doctrine of symptoms) given in the Mosaic law. There is an innocent *lepra alba*. But the white of the mark of leprosy is reckoned malignant in the following ascending scale: white like the membrane of an egg; white like the lime-coating of the temple; white like the wool of a washed lamb a day old; white like snow. If the white is mixed with red, the colour rises in malignancy in the following four degrees: according as it resembles the reddish white of a cupful of milk, with which there have been mixed two, four, eight, or sixteen drops of blood. In this connection it is not forgotten that one and the same spot of leprosy will show dull white on the fair-complexioned German and bright white on the dark Ethiopian; and it is laid down as a rule that the standard in judging both shall be the intermediate complexion of the Israelite, designated as of the colour of boxwood (as at the present day that of the natives of Palestine and Syria is described as wheat-coloured); and the corresponding colour of the painter's palette is used in measuring the degree. In the case of house leprosy—that is, when the walls are overgrown with

leprous-looking streaks of lichen—the following colours are distinguished: yellowish like wax and like the yolk of an egg; iridescent green like the wings of the peacock and like a sprig of dates; reddish like the beautiful carmine of the sea, *i.e.* the deep red, which is sometimes seen where the sea is under shadow, while the part lying under the sun is glancing in emerald green.

The same nice development of the colour-sense is seen in determining the colours of unclean blood. Here we find the following red shades: red like water poured on the red earth of the valley of Beth-Kerem; red like the mixture of two-thirds water and one-third red wine of Sharon; red like the red of the lily or the blood from a recent wound; and in addition to these we have: black like the dregs of ink at the bottom of the bottle; yellow like a beautiful crocus petal. The school of Schammai also declares unclean the colour of the juice of the fenugreek¹ and of roast meat. The yellow-green colour of the ethrog, or apple of paradise, is matter of dispute.

It is well known what anxiously minute rules the Jewish butcher has to observe to prevent any beast from being eaten on which there are symptoms of disease. The colour of the lung especially is subjected to the most careful examination. It is reckoned healthy if it is black like the Eastern eye paint,—that is, tending to blueish,—or green like leek, or red, or liver-coloured; but it is declared to be unsuitable for eating if the colour is black as ink, yellowish-green like hops, yellow like the yolk of an egg, yellow like saffron, yellow-red like raw flesh.

Is this not a richly variegated sampler of colours?

¹ Ger. *Fönkraut* = *trigonella foenum græcum*, Linn.

Blue does not occur among them, for black eye-paint is not azure, as the great mediæval expositor of the Babylonian Talmud alleges. The absence of blue arises from the nature of the case. The colour blue was known, for blue dyes, especially purple-blue and indigo-blue, were known from high antiquity. The so-called fringes which the ancient Israelite wore at the four corners of his linen or woollen coat consisted of purple-blue woollen thread, or of tassels of mixed purple-blue and white. Indigo as a substitute for purple-blue is strictly forbidden; God will take vengeance—so it runs—on him who puts *kalaïlan* (in Greek *kalainon*), i.e. indigo-blue, for purple-blue on his dress.

We accidentally learn from the discussion of the question whether a dress itself purple-blue needs such fringes, that blue was a common colour for the upper dress. There were also many other colours used for dress, and to denote them exactly it was necessary either to name them, as in the case of purple-blue, by the dye, or by something which had the colour. A Jew wished to sell his coat. Asked how it looked, he answered, Like mangold taken from the ground. This is praised for its distinctness, in opposition to the incorrectness and obscurity of Galilean description; the questioner knew that the piece of dress had the colour of the yellow vegetable drawn out of the ground. If the man had used the corresponding colour-name, the questioner would not have known whether it was yellow, or green, or even blue. For the same word signifies green like grass, or yellow like jaundice, or pale like death. Anyhow, it may also denote blue. For example, blue-purple is introduced in one place, saying:

My nature is purple, but my appearance like the grasses. As compared with white, green also denotes all sorts of dark hues. "His skin is green," means in Arabic, He is of dark colour, and therefore of pure Arab race. Black land is in Arabic equivalent to green land, and white land to waste land destitute of vegetation. In this sense of green, equivalent to dark, the Midrasch says of Esther, whose Persian name denotes star, and whose national name, Hadassah, means myrtle, "She was greenish, but the thread of grace was woven round her." A green face would be an enormity according to our ideas, even in a wood or water nymph; it passes with us only as a hyperbole for ugliness, as in the Rachel of Sacher-Masoch's Jewish tales: "A small green face, covered with heat-spots, and with red swollen eyes." But the language of the Semites uses the word green in a laudatory way, not only for a dark complexion,—*sebz*, i.e. green is applied to a brunette among the Persians,—but it compares the glossy black of a fine beard to the moist deep green of the myrtle. Even we Westerns know of a knight Bluebeard. No doubt it was the anger of the fairy which gave him a beard of this colour; but Arabian poets, with perfect seriousness, compare the sprouting down on the face of the youth with lilies or violets blossoming between roses, that is to say his cheeks, and myrtles, that is to say his hair.¹ Human speech, in designating colours, treats them as phenomena of light, and that essentially only in two categories, bright and dark. Assigning blue to the category of the dark, the Semite calls that eye disease which we call the grey and black cataract, the blue

¹ The short curly hair of the Buddha is also painted blue.

cataract. Even bright blue gravitates in the thought of the ancients to the category dark. An Indian poet calls the sky, as it appears in rainy weather, dark like flax blossom. So much in his feeling is the brightness of the blue overborne by the impression of cold and faintness of light.

Besides the upper garment, with its purple-blue tassels, the Jewish dress also included bright-coloured shoes, or black ones with white fastenings; wholly black ones were regarded as heathenish. Once on a time a Rabbi, Baroka by name, stood in the market-place of Bê-Lefet, one of the many Palestinian towns that have passed away. There stepped to his side Elia, that Elia for whom, down to the present day, at the feast on occasion of a circumcision, a seat is placed whereon the guest from the spirit-world may seat himself. Do you think, asked he of the Rabbi, there is on this market-place any child of the world to come? The Rabbi, with the severity of a moral censor, thought no. While they were speaking, they saw a man with black shoes and without blue fringes to his cloak. That, said Elia, is a child of the world to come. Thereupon Rabbi Baroka ran after him, and asked him, What is thy occupation? But he put him off, and said, Let me go, and come to-morrow. When he repeated his question the next day, the man told him he was a gaoler, and had to use every means of force and cunning to keep the prisoners in order, and to defend the females among them, especially a Jewish maid, from the importunity of the males. Then Baroka asked, Why, then, hast not thou blue fringes, and why wearest thou black shoes? He answered, I go out and in among heathens, and bear myself like a

heathen, that they may not know I am a Jew, and that when any evil device is going on against my people, I may inform our teachers of it secretly, that they may implore God's mercy to bring it to nought; hence my haste yesterday. Meanwhile there came up two, who were going hand in hand like brothers, and he said, These also are children of the world to come. Then Baroka asked, What, then, is your occupation? We are merry-makers, they answered. We cheer the sorrowing, or if two have fallen out, we seek to restore them to peace with one another.

That is a specimen of the *Hagada*,—of the “kleinen Zeisigvolks, das lustig trillert” (the finches keeping up a merry twitter). Having introduced it to relieve the tedium of our discourse, we return to our *Kaschja*, i.e. our thorny subject of discussion. Is it possible that a people whose males reckoned purple-blue indispensable to their dress, could have been blind to the blue of the sky? Dr. Stein, in the *Gartenlaube* for the year 1877, contends that they were, venturing to maintain that that purple-blue was rather a shade of black. Now it is certainly true that purple-blue is related to purple-red, as dark blue to dark red; but since purple-red passed for red, and purple-blue for blue, neither of them was regarded by the Israelites as black, nor even as a shade of black. For white and purple-blue are the prevailing colours among the four used in the Mosaic service; whereas black is deliberately and absolutely excluded from the Old Testament worship, because, as Gustav Jahn says in his paraphrase of the Song of Songs, “Schwarz ist vor Gott verdammet, denn Gottes Kleid ist Licht” (black is of God

condemned, for God is clothed in light). Moreover, the purple-blue of the fringes and of the cloth with which the ark was covered on the march, is expressly explained as symbolically pointing to the sapphire-blue of the sky. To this Dr. Stein answers, "Perhaps the sapphire, then, produced a similar impression to the black of the sky on the eye of the ancients." But no, it had for them, as for us, no other than a blue colour, and when it was particularly beautiful, a deep blue colour like the lapis-lazuli, which was embraced under the name sapphire. And it is the blue of the day, not the night sky, which is compared in the giving of the law (Ex. xxiv. 10) to sapphire-blue, when it is said of the representatives of Israel summoned to Sinai: They saw over them as it were a paved work of transparent sapphire, and as it were the very heaven for clearness. But undoubtedly this comparison of sapphire-blue with the clearness of heaven is an isolated ray in the darkness; nowhere else is the blue of the sky mentioned, not even in the Arabian poetry hundreds of years later, though it is impossible to maintain that the Bedouin was blind to the ultramarine of the sky overarching his grey wilderness. What undergoes historical development is not the power of seeing taken by itself, the conditions of which are fixed once for all by natural laws, but the guidance and exercise of sight with reflective observation superadded. Accordingly it was the language of the Arabian schools which first coined a word for bright blue, calling it sky-coloured (*samāwi*) or water-coloured (*māwi*). But down to the present day the Hebrew has invented no adjective for blue, and would be greatly perplexed

if he had, for example, to translate Rückert's two lines,—

Die Sonn' ist eine goldne Rös' im Blauen,
Die Rös' ist eine rote Sonn' im Grünen . . .¹

As a makeshift he uses Greek adjectives, such as *kalaïnon*, indigo-coloured, or *ianthinon*, violet-coloured, and has only a substantive which denotes the violet of the shell-dye. To express the time when the dawn passes into the morning, the Talmud says not only as soon as dog and wolf, or ass and wild-ass can be distinguished, but also as soon as purple-blue and white, or purple-blue and leek colour,—that is, green,—can be distinguished. Thus they had the power of distinguishing blue and green if they wished. The blue of the sky was also known, but it is true that it did not stir the Semite to enthusiasm; language failed him here, his colour-sense was never fully at home in the upper blue half of the colours of the spectrum. White and black, and red and yellow, or green, are reckoned as the colours of the sky; but blue is not among them, it is only indirectly mentioned, and in isolated cases.

The comparison of a domain which is nearly akin, namely, those phenomena of colour in which strong emotions are wont to have a place, shows how careful we must be to avoid rash conclusions. The feeling of shame has the deepest religious significance both in the Old and New Testaments. The fact that men, who had no occasion for shame before they sinned, have felt shame since the fall, is one reason why they are capable

¹ The sun's a golden rose in the blue (sky),
The rose is a red sun on the green (earth).—TR.

of redemption. Yet neither in the books of the Old, nor in those of the New Testament, is the blush of shame (*schamröte*) mentioned. Luther, indeed, frequently translates "to be ashamed" by "to blush" (*schamrot werden*), but neither in Hebrew nor in Greek are the words thus translated colour-names. When colour is assigned to the face as an accompaniment to the feeling of shame, it is not red, but white, as in Isa. xxix. 22 : "Jacob shall not now be ashamed, neither shall his face now wax pale (white)." In both the Talmuds, also, "to make white" is the same as to put to shame ; to put one's neighbour publicly to shame is reckoned as great a sin as bloodshed, for—such is the reason given—"red disappears and white takes its place," as deadly paleness comes over the mortally wounded. But it would be a mistake to conclude from this, that blushing was unknown among the ancient Israelites. Darwin, in his book on the expression of the emotions in men and animals, has collected observations on blushing from all parts of the world ; and it appears that even the negro's countenance, though black as ebony, becomes more deeply black, or if we may say so, purple or cinnabar-black, when he is ashamed. In some parts of the Talmuds, *blushing* actually occurs. A pious person—so runs the story—was offended, because a publican's son was buried with honour by his fellow-citizens, who followed his remains to the grave in a numerous procession. Thereupon a spirit-voice said to him in a dream : My son, despise not God thy Lord ! That Maon (the man's name) did a good thing, which is hereby recompensed to him. One day he went out to

the street, and let fall a loaf of bread. A poor man saw it, and lifted it up; but he said nothing, lest he should bring the red to his face. Thus blushing is seldom mentioned, and yet it was known, as the blue sky is almost never mentioned and was yet seen.

The reason why only becoming pale (white) from shame is mentioned is this, that the feelings of the Eastern are deeper, more sudden and more violent, than those of the Western. Red and white give place to one another according to the degree of feeling. The admirable Swedish author, August Blanche, in one of his narratives introduces a young lady in a green veil, who has lost a letter, and, returning in great trepidation, snatches it from the finder. The latter says: "Though the veil concealed her features, it could not altogether hide the deep blush and deadly pallor; it appeared to me as if through the leafage of a hedge I had seen the sun rapidly exchanging his gold for the silver of the moon." And Levin Schucking says of a princess, who was wooed by one beneath her in birth, though secretly loved by her: "Growing almost deadly pale, she answered with flushed countenance, You are a bold suitor." Darwin heard the following account given of a young lady. In a large and very distinguished company her hair was caught in the button of a servant who was passing, and it took considerable time till she could be disentangled. Her sensation was that she blushed scarlet, and yet a friend assured her that she had become deadly pale. The phenomenon is easily explained. The shame arising from such distress enlarges the blood-vessels, and drives the blood to the face and the nearest parts of the body;

but horror contracts the arteries spasmodically, and drives the blood back. Shame raised to the highest degree becomes horror, and such for the most part is the shame of the Oriental. I say of the Oriental, for not only in the Talmud, but also in Tamil, shame is called "whiteness" (*vedkam*).

But on the bronze-coloured face of the Eastern this white looks yellow. Not long ago, we read of two youths who met one another with drawn swords. The one suddenly became yellow, so that the other was terrified and dropped his weapon. This is an extraordinary case. But in the Talmud it is quite a common thing for one to become yellow under violent excitement. The word used for this might certainly denote blue. Suppressed anger makes the countenance really of a leaden colour, and this, perhaps, is the explanation of the fact, that in Persian deep pallor in the face, and especially in the cheeks, is sometimes described as becoming azure. But that in the language of the Talmud it is a yellow colour which is meant, is shown by the expression which is used interchangeably with it. His face became crocus- or saffron-coloured. The Arabs sometimes use red, but in addition to it only yellow, as the colour of shame. To make the face white is with them the same as to light it up with joy; in a case when we would pledge in a toast, the Arab wishes him the *white banner*, i.e. he exclaims: God make his face white! But yellow is the colour of one ashamed, as well as of the lover who pines away because his love is not returned; and for this reason the lover and the beloved are compared to the two sides of an apple—the

loved one to the red, and the lover to the yellow. When one loses his fresh complexion from shame, or terror, or care, what happens to him is described as a blackening of the face. A father parting with his son says to him solemnly, Do not blacken my face ; desiring that when he is absent he will cause him no shame or grief.

The extreme limit to which the closing of the two Talmuds can be brought down is the year 550. Most certainly it is a full millennium which has passed since then. In so long a period it is not merely our mode of thought, but our ways of feeling, our tastes, our passions that undergo many changes. None of us goes mad about the colour or fragrance of saffron. But in ancient times, down to the period of the Roman Emperors, the whole of the West was bewitched by the yellow colour yielded by the stamina of the saffron ; sight and smell alike knew no greater delight ; theatre and circus must be sprinkled with saffron-water. Which of our poets, on the other hand, has not celebrated the blue sky, whereas antiquity and the Semite poets, down to modern times, are as silent about it as if it had no existence. And yet the oldest Indians knew the beautiful lasting indigo-blue, and the old Egyptians not merely knew a mineral blue, under the name *chesteb*, pre-eminently that of the *lapis-lazuli*, but in their hieroglyphic writing they paint the sky blue,—not only the sky with stars painted on it, but the sky in itself. Yet what is in their mind is the dark blue of the night-sky, not the bright blue of the day-sky, which they call the whiteness, or brightness, or clearness of

the sky. When we speak of the azure of the sky, we are following the example of the Persians, who first applied the blue of the *lapis-lazuli* to the sky. But they too put the ingredient of dark in this ultramarine blue; the Persian name contrasts the azure with the bright sky. Thus it is with Semite antiquity down to the times of the Talmud. The day-sky passes for white, for light is white. A Rabbi once made the following request to Samuel ben Nachmani: I have heard thou art a master of the Hagada; tell me, then, whence comes the light of the world? He answered: The Holy One, blessed be He, clothes Himself in a white robe, and the whole world shines with the splendour of His majesty. This he said in a whisper, and the questioner rejoined: Why, that is word for word the expression of the Psalm—Light is Thy garment which Thou wearest; and thou dost tell it to me as a secret. He answered: I heard it as a secret, so I tell it as a secret.

In another place where two kinds of wheat are distinguished, the dark-coloured which yields more flour, and a sun-coloured which makes finer bread, this leads to a discussion regarding the colour of the day-star. On the one side it is maintained that the sun is red, and if it is not seen by us as red during the day, this is because of the weakening of our vision by the bright light. But, on the other hand, it is maintained that the sun is white, and that the red of the morning and evening sun, according to its position in the east or west, is the reflection of the fire of hell, or of the roses of Paradise. That the purple appearance of the ball of the sun on a misty morning is due to the reflection of light by the atmosphere

was certainly not known. But it was known that the sun is a body in a state of glowing heat, whether a red or white glow. An Arabian tradition says, that the sun is daily deluged with snow and ice by seven angels, lest its heat should destroy the earth; and there is a similar saying of the Rabbi Nathan, that the sun is contained within a covering which the Psalmist calls its tent, and in front of it is a reservoir. At the hour when it is about to rise it flames up, and the Holy One, blessed be He, weakens its strength by the water, lest it should burn up the world. But the time will come when He shall let it rise in its full glow, and while the righteous, to whom it brings healing in its wings, find delight in its heat; to the ungodly it shall be the fire of hell. The ancient world, the Semitic included, thought in figures. Sometimes it is easy, sometimes difficult, to get beyond the shell to the kernel of the thought. The Arabs have a tradition, that the sun in starting on his course requires to be daily put in order by seven thousand angels. The underlying thought here is the heaviness of the enormous ball. A Jewish Hagada gives to this thought a more intelligible turn. The patriarchs in the other world, on hearing from Moses what their enemies have inflicted on the Jewish people, begin to weep and lament. Moses, touched thereby, breaks out into abuse of the sun, because he lent his light to enable the enemy to invade the temple. But the sun answers: By thy life, Moses, thou faithful shepherd, how could I keep dark when I was allowed no rest by the powers above; they seized me, and laid on me with sixty whips of fire, and commanded me, saying, Go forth, and let thy light shine! The thought,

that God blesses willingly and punishes unwillingly, is here transferred to the world of nature ; it does only on compulsion what God Himself only does reluctantly.

We have again got unexpectedly into the "high fantastic" garden of the Hagada ; we return to the proposition which we left. Among the Semites, the white day represents the blue sky. A poetical word regarding early sunrise : "The cheek of the sun on the blue vault is changing to yellow," shows itself at once by the mention of blue to be Persian, not Semitic. But when another poet says of his love : She is as white as if she herself were the bright mid-day sky, and her hair as black as if she were the night, we at once recognise the Semite by this white.

The state of the case is essentially the same among the Egyptians and Chinese, Persians and Arabs. What charms them in the cloudless sky of day is not the quality of the light, *i.e.* its colour, but the quantity of the light, and therefore the white in the blue. But they saw the blue, for we have notices of it, though rarely, and ever more rarely ; and consequently the historical proof, taken especially from blue, that the retina of the ancients was not developed as ours is, is far from reliable. Professor Franz Boll lately¹ conducted three separate investigations at Rome, in which he used not less than three times fifty frogs. The result he has established is, that the retina of the eye, into which the great nerve of vision spreads out, has a peculiar red colour ; that this network of nerve vessels, consisting of a mosaic of portions partly green

¹ Soon afterwards he died, on the 19th December 1879, at the age of 30.

but mostly red, undergoes various changes as it is affected by colourless or coloured light, and by blue or violet (excepting ultra-violet), and that these changes probably contribute to make the coloured images of the things which are the objects of perception. But the soul is always needed, without which it is utterly impossible to understand how the various light-impressions go to form the unity of the picture, how the inverted picture on the retina is adjusted to show the natural position, and how it is projected to its definite place in external space. In reality we see not with two eyes, but with three—with the two eyes of the body and the eye of the soul behind them. And it is this eye of the soul in which and on which there takes place that progressive development of the sense of sight, and especially of colour, which is traceable in the history of culture. Yes, it is not only with three, but with four eyes that we see. For what a difference there is between the eye of the frog, the retina of which is affected by blue and violet, exactly as that of man is, and the eye of the naturalist who brings a reflective observation to bear on this, and draws conclusions from it to shed light, as far as possible, on the mystery of the act of vision! The eyes of the body receive images from the outer world, the eye of the soul discerns them, and the eye of the spirit makes the functions of the three other eyes the object of its observations, and seeks to see through and through them.

Thus in a sketchy way I have reached the end of my task. In the course of my preparation for it I have

been in a manner haunted by a Hagada. It certainly presents a significant combination of colours, and I would fain have interwoven it with these variegated pictures from the Talmud, but I could not understand it. It runs thus: "When God created man, He took earth from the site of the sanctuary and from the four quarters of the heavens, and created him red, black, and white, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life." Where the Chaldee translator of Gen. ii. 7 got this triad of colours, and what meaning the inventor had for it, I know not. But one thing is clear. The three colours appear here as the colours essential to man as such, and therefore as emblems of humanity,¹ and they are the very colours of the German Empire. May it then in conformity with its colours approve itself a helper of humanity,—a helper, that is, of the religious and moral disposition and destination, which are set before us by the Sinaitic law, and its profounder exhibition in the Sermon on the Mount, as the bond and goal of the human brotherhood. And may the triumphal monument,² to which our lectures are a contribution, tell to later generations that from the black of that mourning over the harvest of death produced by war there came the white of victory and peace, and that from this white there blossomed the mighty red of that love which, being rooted in the fear of God, is the fulfilling of the law and the one solution of all social problems.

¹ According to the Midrasch on the Book of Numbers, the colours of the priestly tribe of Levi were white, black, and red.

² The splendid monument now erected in the market-place at Leipsic to commemorate the German victories in the Franco-German war.—TR.

VI.

**Gossip about Flowers and their
Fragrance.**



VI.

GOSSIP ABOUT FLOWERS AND THEIR FRAGRANCE.

"IF one of our great naturalists had announced a lecture on flowers and fragrance, we should have been sure of getting the reliable instructions of a professional in a popular form. But when one who is not a botanist, but an old man on the very verge of life, a theologian, and an old Lutheran theologian to boot, chooses such a theme, and gives his lecture so sportive a title, it is rather strong, unworthy of him, and somewhat offensive." Such captious criticism was to be expected. It may be that many a one has suspected me of sensational advertising, for this among others is a characteristic of human nature, that the more offence a thing gives, the more it draws.

Nothing certainly can be truer than that I am no botanist. My knowledge of plants goes scarcely beyond the popular average. I love flowers, and their varied beauty is mirrored in my soul in varied feelings. If, in addition to their native beauty, they have also a significant name, it appears to me like a halo encircling them. I take delight in the sense for nature and in the poetry, which come out in so many of the popular names for flowers. I like snowbell better than galanthus, and Christmas rose better than helleborus ; heaven's key even

better than primrose, and none-so-pretty better than saxifrage. I long for the coming spring, to see its heralds take their place in the shady grass, as Geibel sings of them,—

Das Eis zergeht, der Schnee zerriunt,
Dann grünt es über ein Weilchen,
Und leise singt der laue Wind:
Wacht auf, wacht auf, ihr Veilchen!¹

But to give a morphological description of the violet would be quite beyond me, and as to its peculiar fragrance I know indeed that it proceeds from an ethereal oil, but that is all. I need not, however, at least in this one point, be ashamed of my ignorance, for even science knows no more. It has gained a deep insight into the chlorophyll, the dye-stuff which produces the magic colours of the vegetable world. As to the ethereal oil, it can only tell us that it is formed in the cells, is found in all parts of the plant, and is quickly dissipated in the air; but it can say nothing as to how the infinite variety of the aroma of plants is caused.

Well, then, I am no botanist, only a dilettante, and to confess the truth, scarcely that. All the less, it will be said, does such trifling become your years! But do I appear before you like an old fop, with a rosebud in my button-hole? There is nothing more repulsive than an old man playing the youth. Supposing even that his heart is yet young, his age prescribes certain limits

¹ The ice breaks up, quick melt the snows,
The earth dons her green toilet,
And softly sings each wind that blows:
Wake up, wake up, fair violet.—TR.

which he dares not break through without giving offence. We like the rosebud on the breast of the young man, edelweiss and Alpine rose in the hat of the Tyrolese, myrtle in the hair of the bride, and a nosegay of primrose, violet, heath, and hyacinth, or other variegated combination, on the breast of the dancer. But if the time is past for one far in years adorning himself with flowers, must he also refrain from speaking of them? Who has a better right than he to think of flowers,—the flowers among which his body, dead to this world, must soon be laid,—the flowers which will soon be thrown upon his bier as the last mute farewell? This was never an Old Testament custom, but it was a Christian one even in the first centuries, when the Catacombs were the burying-places. For an essential feature of Christianity is the sweetening, beautifying, transfiguring of death by pointing to a better world beyond, as we sing,—

Unter Lilien jener Freuden
Wer'd ich weiden—
Seele, schwinge dich empor!
Als ein Adler fleug behende,
Jesu Hände
Deffnen schon das Perlenthor.¹

To encircle the head of the deceased in the heathen fashion with a garland was discontinued; for since Christ

¹ 'Mid the lilies, full of rapture,
I shall pasture—
Soul, seek thy high estate!
Mount, as on eagle's wing,
Behold, thy King
Opens wide the pearly gate.—TR.

wore a crown of thorns, it becomes not His confessors, as Tertullian says, to wear a crown of flowers. And why should we put on the head of the departed a fading wreath? We expect, says Minucius Felix, from the hand of God a wreath of everliving flowers. But the bier of the departed was encircled with flowers in token of love and hope; and the days on which the grave was visited by mourning friends were called *dies violationis* and *dies rosationis*, because it was then adorned with roses and violets. The nearer one is to such flowery tribute from his survivors, the nearer to him, as I think, lie thoughts of flowers.

All earthly beings must serve man, the king of nature; but of his servants flowers are not only the most ornate, but also the most faithful, for they give up their life to serve him in joy and sorrow, and when all else remains behind, they follow him to the grave, there to die by his side. And it shall be thought unworthy of a theologian to speak of flowers! On the contrary, it befits no one better to sound their praises. For he who does this is fulfilling a duty of gratitude, and this gratitude is surely due first of all to God, whose goodness in its inexhaustible ingenuity has provided us with those dear partners of our joy and grief. Flowers are relics of paradise lost, and delight in flowers is a foretaste of paradise regained. In Canto xxviii. of the *Purgatorio*, Dante enters a magnificent grove filled with fragrance. A sweet zephyr cools his brow, and the gentle rustling of the tree-tops accompanies the song of the birds as they greet the morning. In the middle of the grove he is suddenly brought to a stand by a shady brook of crystal water rippling past

between grassy banks, and across the streamlet he espies—

Una Donna soletta, che si gioia
Cantando, ed iscegliendo fior da fiore,
Ond'era pinta tutta la sua via.¹

Enchanted with her gracious form, he beseeches her to come nearer, and to tell him what she is singing, and why she smiles so. Whereupon she answers from the opposite bank, "Trattando più color con le sue mani,"² that her smiling is not on his account, as perhaps he suspected, because he is yet a stranger to the joy of paradise; the explanation of her mirth will be found in the Psalm Delectasti (*ma luce rende il Salmo Delectasti*).³ That is Ps. xcii., where the poet says: "Thou, Lord, hast made me glad through Thy work (*Delectasti me, Domine, in factura tua*), I will triumph in the works of Thy hands. How great are Thy works, O Lord, Thy thoughts are very deep. A brutish man knoweth not, neither doth a fool understand." The fair woman, who is afterwards called Matilda, is the representative of the earthly, as Beatrice of the heavenly paradise. And Dante could think of no better way of picturing her contemplative absorption in the wonders of creation than by her delight in flowers. For more than other creatures, flowers produce the impression of divine thoughts realized. These thoughts of God;

¹ A lady all alone, who, singing, went,
And culling flower from flower, wherewith her way
Was all o'er-painted.—CARY.

² As through her graceful fingers shifted still
The intermingling dyes.—CARY.

³ . . . But that sweet strain of psalmody,
"Thou, Lord! hast made me glad," will give ye light.—CARY.

however, await us in the world beyond, as I once rendered it when I was young, and now and again felt the poetic afflatus,—

Schrift des Ewigen sind die reichen
Blumenteppiche der Flur—
Wer versteht die magischen Zeichen,
liest die Sprache der Natur.¹

But in those days of my enthusiasm for the philosophy of nature I was still better pleased with a verse by a man called Blumenfeld, who passed through our city and left no trace behind,—

Auf jeder Form ruht ein Geheimnis,
In dunkeln Mythen redet sie—
Zusammenfließen alle Mythen
Und Gott ist die Mythologie.²

Nonsense full-blown ! And yet no ! Is it not true that all the enigmas which meet us in nature have their origin in God, and ascend to Him, the enigma of all enigmas, the one primal mystery ?

A theologian, therefore, is not going out of his sphere in proclaiming the praise of flowers. But if he occupies himself chiefly with the Old Testament, he must be at home in Palestine, and Palestine is a land of flowers. Tabor and Carmel are among the most flower-clad of

¹ The Eternal's writing richly show
The flower-beds of the meads—
Who can the magic symbols know,
The speech of nature reads.—Tr.

² Each form doth bear its mystery impressed,
In myths it speaketh darksomely—
Together into one flows every myth,
And God is true mythology.—Tr.

mountains. The springs of Palestine are the high festival times of the flower-world, and are of fairy beauty. When the heavens have heard the earth, and have sent to it the longed-for showers of spring, then the rocks about Jerusalem are overrun with a luxuriant and fantastic growth of virgin's bower and the many-flowered clematis. Even the strips of soil among the rocks are thick with flowers; the plains and heights are brilliant with richly varied colours; it is as if all hues and shades vied with one another for the prize of beauty, *e.g.* the red of the scarlet anemone with the red of the purple iris, and this with the red cinnabar-coloured adonis; and though the tiny pimpernel is not very imposing singly with its reddish blossoms, yet it is found in such profusion that it forms a main feature of the landscape in Judea. Even our poor daisy, with its yellow disc and white rays, is not wanting in this concert of colours. But every other red is surpassed in brilliance by the blossoms of the pomegranate and of the oleander, whose luxuriant growths are reflected in the waters of the Jordan and of Gennesaret. But not only do such flower-pictures float before the eye of the theologian, but flower-studies are indispensable to him. There is a book of the Bible into which the poet has interwoven the fairest and choicest of the flower-world that lay within his horizon; and the poet is a king famed for his insight into nature and art, who took pleasure in laying out parks and gardens on a great scale, and had costly exotic plants brought to him by land and sea. I mean the Song of Songs, in which Solomon celebrates his youthful love to Shulamith, the maid of Galilee, that one and only one who captivated him wholly by her child-

like soul, in a body so delicate that its texture seemed as ethereal as the fragrance of flowers. She compares herself, too, to a flower, not one, however, of the king's garden, but of the field. I am a rose (narcissus) of Sharon, she says, a lily of the valley, or as Luther has it, a flower of Sharon and a rose in the valley. It would be an utter mistake to think in this connection of the queen of flowers, the rose, with its hundred leaves, for it was not transplanted from Upper Asia to Palestine till long after Solomon's day, only the hawthorn with its white and pale-red wild roses was then known.

Speaking of Luther, it occurs to me that I might have cited him in the outset in defence of my theme. It is a happy circumstance that the statue which Leipsic has erected to him has come to stand in a flower-garden. From 1527 onwards he pursued gardening almost as a profession. He frequently said that if he could have left theology with a good conscience, he would have been a gardener rather than anything else. He used to order seedlings from Erfurt and Nürnberg, and though his cloister garden was enough to occupy him, he had the weakness of buying up every piece of garden ground in Wittenberg that came into the market. He sowed and reared melons, gourds, radishes, and other kitchen vegetables, but above all he preferred flowers. In translating the colour which in the Greek-Latin Bible is called hyacinth, by the word *Gel* (yellow), though purple-violet is meant, he was probably misled by the fact that the flowers of his garden which were then called hyacinths were yellow. He prided himself on the fine laying out of his garden with its trees. "Come," he wrote in 1526

to his patron and friend, Spalatin of Altenburg, "and let me show you it all ; I shall honour you with a garland of lilies and roses." This delight in flowers was manifested by Luther here in Leipsic during his disputation with Eck in the summer of 1519. David met the giant Goliath with stones for his sling in his shepherd's srip. And what did Luther do when confronted with his antagonist, tall and burly, and with a voice like thunder ? He smelt a bunch of flowers. Even if it is not true, the legend is full of meaning.

Do you ask if he really derived strength thence ? Later in life he once said : "While Satan with his members rages, I will meantime laugh at him, and look at my garden, that I may enjoy the blessing of the Creator and what goes to glorify Him." Yes, God is not far from us. He is nigh to us in His works, and he who is not self-seeking, but above all seeks the Creator in His works, gets to taste and to see how good He is. He reveals Himself in storm and earthquake and fire, but Elijah on Horeb discovered that God's nature is more clearly made known in the gentle breath (1 Kings xix. 11-13),—such a breath is the fragrance of flowers, which Lamartine celebrates in his greeting to Ischia,—

Il est doux d'aspirer, en abordant la grève
Le parfum que la brise apporte à l'étranger,
Et de sentir les fleurs que son haleine enlève
Plenvoir sur votre frond du haut de l'oranger.¹

¹ How sweet to breathe the perfume-laden breeze,
Borne to the stranger from the nearing shore,
And feel the blossoms from the orange trees,
Like a soft shower on his forehead pour !

—WALTER CHAS. URQUHART.

The Lord rideth, says Isaiah (xix. 1), upon a swift cloud,—such a light, ethereal cloud is the scent of flowers. An Arabian poet compares the breath of his beloved to the morning wind blowing over a bed of carnations; we apply the figure, and say, the morning wind gently stirring a bed of carnations is like the breath of creative love. From the sight and smell of flowers there goes a divine strength which begets feelings and thoughts that are full of joy, comfort, and rest.

A divine strength?—Yes, a divine strength, for it is a law implanted in the human mind to reason from an effect to its cause, and in this cause to recognise the effect of a higher cause, till at length it reaches the cause of all causes, and stands in the awful presence of the Infinite. The French poet and prose writer, Saintaine, in his *Picciola*, gives the history of a Count de Charney, who in the time of the French Consulate was accused of conspiracy against the rising power of Bonaparte, and thrown into the rocky fortress of Fenestrelle. During his lonely captivity, a plant, from the description an antirrhinum, which grew up between two of the paving-stones in his prison court, became the object of his attention and care. With tender affection he named it Picciola, i.e. his dear little pet. The prisoner was lying ill when his gaoler surprised him with the news that it was in flower. Putting forth all his strength, he rose, and when he had his favourite with its crown of coloured and fragrant flower before him, he from that moment felt a new life pervade his body, and not only his body, but his soul. What advantage, said he to himself, have the flowers from their splendid perfume? Do they enjoy it themselves? No. Is it

for the lower animals ? No ; for never was either a sheep or a dog seen standing before a rose and inhaling its odour. Their perfume, then, is for man. And why for him ? Maybe to make him love them. Gradually, however, he went further, and drew the conclusion that God may be loved in them. A *blaſe* man of the world, with his cold intellect, who till then had no other god than accident, was converted by this flower to the true God, whose nature is love ; and life acquired a new charm for him, and a consecration formerly unknown. The daughter of a fellow-prisoner secretly carried a written petition from him to the emperor, that the two paving-stones, which threatened the life of his beloved flower, might be taken up. She presented it at Alexandria, and engaged the intercession of Josephine. Afterwards she became his wife, and Saintaine used to see her as a widow at Belleville, where the Count was buried, wearing on her breast a costly medallion, in which there was set a colourless withered flower.

So much was done by a flower shooting up from an unpromising soil, but even a plucked flower, a simple nosegay, may have much to say and do for us. I hate bouquets, says a sentimental young lady in a recent novel, they are corpses laid out in state. This holds, we must admit, of those tasteless, fashionable bouquets which consist of heads of flowers inextricably spitted, and arranged as by a decorator, and clasped in a paper frill. These are certainly flower corpses in dead-clothes, suggesting only how proud they look, how much they cost, and that to-morrow they will be withered. But a flower taken from the stem with its stalk is not killed. It lives so

long as its leaves and petals do not close and shrivel, and its aroma remains fresh. Many, like the rose, jessamine, and carnation, retain the smell of life even in death,—

Blüte der Nelke !
Das unterscheidet dich vom Blumenvolke,
Sie duften frisch, du duftest noch als welke.¹

The Bible calls this fragrance the soul of plants. Not as if it were itself the soul, but because it is the breath of their soul. The scent of a flower is its life's breath, and in a manner its speech, as the Persian Hafiz, the mystical poet of love, says,—

Hört, hört das Geheimniß der Rosen,
Wie sie statt mit Worten nur kößen.²

Comfort ye, comfort ye My people, is God's call to His prophets in the Book of Isaiah. A flower may become a prophet of comfort, the sight of it may cast a ray of light into the darkness of the human soul, the smell of it may give a foretaste of victory to the man who is wrestling to escape from this world. When the cholera was raging in Halle, my friend Professor Guericke has told me that he used to put a pink in his mouth, and protected himself from the miasma by its bright look and healthful scent. The reviving effect of a fragrant flower is shown by a scene in Jul. Kompert's *Zwischen den Ruinen* (Among the Ruins), in which the

¹ Carnation blossom !
In this, of all the flowery tribe, thou art alone,
They smell when fresh, thou still when life is gone.—TR.

² List, list, if the roses' secret you'd steal,
Not in words, but in perfumes their loves they reveal.—TR.

love of a Jewish youth and a Christian maiden for one another, and the conflict between their religion and their love, are depicted.

Dorothea has plucked a bunch of the most beautiful wild-flowers for the old blind widow, whom Jonathan, her master, revered and loved as a son, and, not concealing from herself the all too obvious meaning of her present, she offers it with a beating heart.

"Grandmother," she called out, as loud as if she had to do with a deaf person, but it was only to conceal her extreme emotion from the observation of the old woman, "I have brought you something pretty."

She pressed the nosegay into her hand.

"What is it?" asked Veile Oberländer.

"Don't you know it, grandmother?" she answered; "it is flowers!"

"Flowers!" cried Veile. "How did you come on them? I have forgotten what a flower is! But as they come from you, I will keep them beside me. You must know that it is not since I became blind that I have forgotten what a flower is, but since my husband passed away. He had lain long, long ill, and that came to him from the many scholars, who gave him a weak chest. But it is curious what fancies take such people on their dying bed. One day he said to me, 'Veile, my darling, I should like to smell something good.' 'Will you have the smelling-bottle?' I asked. 'I should like to have a fresh flower.' 'But where am I on the spot to get a fresh flower? Am I a gardener?' But as his wish sounded so earnest, and I could not have refused him anything, I set myself to seek it. One thing,

however, I had forgotten—it was winter. As I am going along the street and looking into all the windows to see if there was any flower-pot (there was nothing to be seen in the whole street), I meet Madlena, the shoemaker's wife, who always lighted my fire on the Sabbath. 'What are you seeking?' asked she. 'I am seeking a fresh flower,' said I, 'for my husband. He would fain scent something good.' 'Then come to my house with me,' said she, 'my daughter has a slip of carnation which has twined round her heart as if it were a lover. But as it is you, she will cut off a flower for your sake.' So I went with her, and got my fresh flower all right. And, do you know, Dorothea, my girl, my husband died with the flower at his lips; it did him good to his last breath. Since that time I have never had another flower in my hand."

It is a good sign when a patient on his sick-bed finds relief from the sight and smell of a flower, or when a captive beguiles his loneliness with the care of a living plant. It is a proof that he has not yet broken away from the bosom of nature, and therefore not wholly from the heart of God. In the case of a child we can assume this. For unconscious growth still predominates in the child over that responsible use of freedom with which the worth, but also the danger of all action rises. Man, as such, has his perishableness in common with the flower, but the child has, besides, the charm of innocence. Is not a sick child like a withered white rose or a tulip casting its leaves? The child having so much of the nature of the flower, we shall not have to wait till it longs for flowers on its sick couch. Its very look is a

call to us to associate like with like, and to relieve, if not to restore like with like.

It is well known that the perfume of flowers, filling a close room to excess, has the effect of stupefying, lulling asleep, and, if it be overnight, producing even death. We might therefore expect, that if the scents of flowers were properly applied, according to their different kinds, their effect on the sick would be healthful. It is generally recognised that forest air is beneficial; it is now even sold in bottles. Might not an atmosphere filled with the fragrance of thyme, camomile, or arnica, and such like be, in proper circumstances, as beneficial as one filled with pine? Perhaps a time will come when medicine will not disdain to experiment in this direction, and when we shall learn to distinguish the scents of plants by their effects. At present the best manuals tell us nothing more than that camomile has an aromatic smell, mignonette a soft one, basil a spicy, marjoram a bitter. But most frequently there is no distinction whatever, and we read of sweet-smelling jessamine, sweet-smelling balm, sweet-smelling narcissus, and so on in endless monotony.

But where am I straying to? Returning to the psychological standpoint, I would in closing address to you, Gentlemen of the Children's Hospital, a modest request: lay a flower from time to time on the bed of your little patients! It need not be a flower of fragrant aroma; all flowers smell sweetly to the young life. It need not be a grand flower; all flowers smile when they are looked at with a kindly eye. Every flower is in itself a gift of divine love, and when human love takes

part by presenting it, then love joins love, and its impression is the more gladdening. Every flower is a child of heaven and of earth ; it says to us, earth is fair, but heaven is fairer. Spend a flower on the child-soul ; it will go to beautify the death, if not the life of the fragile being, as Fr. Rückert puts it in his address to his two children lost in infancy,—

Ihr habt nur Duft gesogen
Und seid in Duscht entfloegen,
Von Blütenstaub gelebt,
Wie Blütenstaub entschwebt.¹

But I cannot close with this melancholy note. Spring is near, and the snowdrops are already bringing us the resurrection perfume of mother earth. We hope, then, that the spring sun, as its rays renew the youth of the world, will also give wings to all the dear little butterflies now wrapped in their chrysalis state in the Children's Hospital, long to flit over the flowery meadows of this present world. And with this hope let my gossip take end !

¹ Airy breath is all ye've known,
Into airy breath ye've gone;
By the scent of flowers regaled,
Like the scent of flowers exhaled.—Tr.

VII.

A Doubtful Posey.

VII.

A DOUBTFUL NOSEGAY.

IT is a fine trait in the sketch of the Leipsic Disputation, which was again brought up in one and another anniversary publication of the year 1883, that Luther took a nosegay with him to his pulpit, and smelt it in the heat of the controversy.¹ The story is as credible as it is interesting. Luther was passionately devoted to gardening and a lover of flowers. The Disputation fell in the month of roses, and was protracted into August. They were hot, sunny days. And what more natural on one of the July days, in which he had to take up the fight instead of Carlstadt, than that a nosegay should be presented to him on his way to the Pleissenburg from Melchior Lotter's, where he lodged, or in one of the families which invited the Wittenbergers to dinner? It is so like him also, while proudly reposing in self-conscious strength, to regale himself with the fragrance of flowers, while the gigantic Eck thundered away at him and paraded his eloquence and learning, as if he would smite his antagonist dumb.

This graceful trait was put in circulation by Seidemann, who in 1843 published a monograph of the Leipsic Disputation, which is based on the most comprehensive and minute study of the original sources, and has itself become an authority for all later students of

¹ So Mich. Baumgarten, *Doctor Martin Luther* (1883), p. 58.

Reformation history. In this monograph, and from that which appeared in 1842 on Thomas Münzer,¹ the nosegay finds a place. In the former monograph, p. 63, Seidemann gives it as a complaint of Luther about the suspicious dislike with which his movements were watched in Leipsic: "The Leipsic people observed that I carried a nosegay in my hand, to look at and to smell." But the passage of Luther's letter, from which these words are taken, scarcely bears this meaning.

The state of the case is as follows. A Franconian studying in Leipsic, by name Johannes Rubeus (Rubius), who took the designation Longopolitanus (of Langstadt in Hesse), had in August 1519 published a pamphlet under the title, *Solutiones ac Responsa Wit. Doctorum in publica Disputatione Lipsica contra fulmina Eckiana parum profutura*, which in the most outrageous way exalted Eck to the skies, and depreciated the Wittenbergers.² Joh. Montanus, in a pamphlet issued from Wittenberg, *Neminis Wittebergensis Encomium Rubei Longip.*, disposed of this self-constituted partisan of Eck (and at the same time of the like-minded Joh. Cellarius). Then Rubeus rejoined in a *Neuen Büchlein von der Leipziger Disputation* (1519, 4), in which he sought to avenge himself on the *Nemo* (Montanus), and continued to disparage Luther in comparison with Eck. It is written in such wretched doggerel, so empty, insipid, and senseless, that Löscher, after quoting three lines, says: "It is not worth the pains to give more of this trash."³

¹ The author says, p. 4: "That Luther, during his discussion with Eck, regaled himself with a nosegay, is well known."

² Printed in Löscher's *Reformations-Acten*, i. pp. 252-271.

³ Löscher, *ibid.*, p. 272.

This answer in rhyme is thus referred to by Luther, in a letter to Joh. Lange on St. Gall's day [16th October] 1519: *Rubius asinus* [he calls him *Longipilus*, the long-haired, instead of *Longopolitanus*] *denuo vernacula me proscidit pessime nec sic saturia Lipsia invidiæ est*;¹ and in December of the same year in a letter to Spalatin: (*Eccius*) *edidit denuo suis expensis Augustæ Rubii rhythmos vernaculos in nos*.² But the passage which Seidemann reproduces on p. 63 of his work on the Leipsic Disputation, is taken from a letter to Spalatin, of 13th October 1519. After saying: *Vides quam acute me Lipsienses observent* (you see how sharply the Leipsic people watch me), he continues shortly afterwards: *Quid enim non scriberent qui per Rubium effutunt, quod Lipsiae in manu complicatum ac compressum sertum odoris et spectandi gratia gestavi, libentius dicturi, quod in capite gestassem, si auderent!*³ In English: "For what would they not write, who by Rubius give out the silly tale, that at Leipsic I carried in my hand a wreath of flowers folded and pressed together to smell and look at, and who would be more pleased to tell that I had worn it on my head, if they dared!" Admitting that *sertum* may elsewhere mean a wreath of flowers, the connection excludes this signification here. The insinuation is that Luther, while he shrank from holding the wreath openly in his hand, a token and prize, as it were, of victory, yet hid it in his hand, and regaled himself self-

¹ The ass Rubius has again attacked me as badly as possible in the vernacular, and withal the ill-will of Leipsic is not exhausted.

² In de Wette, i. pp. 352 and 375: "Eck has issued at his own expense a new edition of the rhymes of Rubius against us in the vernacular at Augsburg."

³ In Löscher, iii. p. 786; de Wette, i. p. 346.

complacently by smelling and looking at it. But the calumny perhaps consists only of the allegation that he held a *wreath* (*seratum*) in his hand, whereas it was only a modest bunch of flowers (*fasciculus*)

To appear before a public audience with a flower in the hand would not excite criticism now-a-days; but in those times it was regarded as affected, effeminate, unmanly. Perhaps Luther really defied public opinion in this case, as he seems to have done on his departure from Leipsic. For Thomas Münzer, in his Defence and Answer to Luther, which appeared in 1524, says: "So you had a good time of it at Leipsic; you drove out at the gate with wreaths of carnation and drank good wine at Melchior Lotther's."¹

Köstlin has rightly passed over the questionable flower-wreath in silence. All the more true to history is the statement he makes in his account of the Leipsic Disputation to this effect: "The professors of Leipsic with few exceptions kept deliberately and strangely aloof from the Wittenbergers to the very end. They showed them no attention beyond sending them the guest-present of wine, which the barest civility required."² The accounts of the Law Faculty of Leipsic, which begin with the year 1516, contain the following entry under the expenses of the year 1519: *item III. fl. XVII. gl. ad propinam D. Eckio, Martino et Carolstadio*³ (item, 3 florins 17 groschen, to pledge Dr. Eck, Martin and Carlstadt).

¹ Seidemann, Thomas Münzer (1842), *ibid.*

² *Leben Luther's*, i. p. 269; comp. Seidemann, *Leipziger Disp.* p. 65.

³ Friedberg, *Das Collegium Juridicum. Ein Beitrag zur Gesch. der Leipzg. Juristenfakultät* (1882), p. 43, note 8.

VIII.

The Flower-Riddle of the Queen of Sheba.



VIII.

THE FLOWER-RIDDLE OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA.

Straußfedern, Reiherbüsch schwanken wie ein Wald daher,
Balbachine, Friedensfahnen wogen wie ein Farbenmeer,
Eselsteine, Perlen blitzen wie der Regen glänzt im Licht,
Rosse wiehern gleich dem Sturme, der aus Wolkenlagern bricht.

Durstig wählt die Abendsonne in die Herrlichkeit sich ein,
Durstig trinkt des Volkes Auge all des Golds und Silbers Schein.
Aber durst'ger hängt als alle seines edlen Gastes froh
An dem Angesicht der Königin, Hoffnung atmend, Salomo.¹

Thus Gustav Pfizer describes the arrival of the Queen of Sheba in Jerusalem, in the cycle of poems which he calls *Salomo's Nächte* (Nights of Solomon). Even in the Bible history of Solomon, this meeting is a prominent and brilliant event. But in the Solomonic Legend, spread in the Semitic languages, the meeting, with what went before and followed, is picturesquely expanded, with

¹ Plumes of the ostrich, plumes of the heron, sway like a wood in the breeze,
Canopies, standards of many a hue, float like the waves in the seas ;
Jewels and pearls, like the raindrops in sunlight, are glancing ;
Like the tempest which breaks from the storm-cloud, the horses are
neighing and prancing.

Eager into the splendour seek the rays of the evening hour,
Eager this golden show the eyes of the people devour ;
But, eager above all others, does Solomon, proud of his guest,
On the face of the noble queen, with high-pulsing hope, fondly
rest.—TR.

many fabulous details. Solomon appears as a lord of nature and of the spirit-world, invested with magical powers, and the Queen of Sheba has for her mother a princess belonging to the world of spirits. The royal house of Ethiopia traces its origin back to a son of Solomon by this queen. Her Ethiopian name is Makeda, her Arabian name Bilkis (Balkis).¹ Jews and Moslems vied with one another in elaborating the legend. From them it passed to the Byzantines, Celts, and Sclaves, ever undergoing new transformations, and finally receiving a Christian character. The Queen of Sheba becomes a sibyl, i.e. a heathen prophetess; her prophetic gift showing itself by her discerning, in an extraordinary tree, which resisted all attempts to fit it into Solomon's temple, the future wood of the Cross.² The revelations of the future which she made to Solomon, were a favourite theme of the Romanic and German literature of the Middle Ages.³ In the exposition of the Song of Songs she was the representative of heathendom doing homage to Jesus Christ, Solomon's antitype.⁴ Among the emblematic pictures of the ancient Church we sometimes come upon her, as she is engaged in conversation with Solomon.⁵ The Lord

¹ Gust. Rösch, *Die Königin von Saba als Königin Bilquis. Eine Studie.* Leipsic, Barth, 1880.

² Wilh. Meyer, *Die Geschichte des Kreuzesholzes vor Christus (Abhandlung der Kgl. Bayerischen Akademie).* Munich, 1882.

³ Friedr. Vogt, *Ueber Sibyllen-Weissagung*, in *Pauls und Braunes Beitrügen*, Bd. iv. 1877.

⁴ So in the *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*, Tom. clxxii., by Honorius of Autun.

⁵ Springer, *Quellen der Kunstdarstellungen im Mittelalter, im Jahrg. 1879 der Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.*

Himself pays her high honour, when He says (Matt. xii. 42): "The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and, behold, a greater than Solomon is here." Thus she is a pattern of zealous striving after heavenly wisdom, as a sequence¹ celebrates her,—

Haec Christi stupescens bonis
Jesu veri Salomonis,
Sophiae dat operam.²

Among the 1400 pieces of the Lichtenstein picture gallery in Vienna, there is found a picture by Quellinus, which represents Solomon's reception of the queen. He is sitting on his throne, to which steps with figures of lions lead up, under a canopy, stretching out his right hand to the queen, who stands at the foot of the throne. At her side and behind her is a numerous retinue of women, white and coloured, one of whom carries a green and red parrot; also soldiers, one of whom appears in the background riding on a camel. The procession of the queen has therefore just arrived, and she is presenting the king with her gifts, to which belong the vessels placed on the ground filled with the precious things of her land. In August of the year 1872 I passed a night in Lermos in a room one wall of which was covered with a similar large oil-painting of the mutual greeting between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. In front

¹ In the Roman Catholic Church a hymn introduced into the mass on certain festival days.—Tr.

² She, with the bounties of her Lord spell-bound,
For the true Solomon in Him is found,
To wisdom gives herself.—Tr.

of the picture stood three Moors, the sign of the inn, which was named from them.

This scene has also been adopted as a theme in the weaving of tapestry. To these woven pieces we give the name Gobelin, because the house of the French dyer's family Gobelin, in Paris, became the home of this art from the time of Louis XIV., after the famous Flemish weaver of tapestry, Janssens (Jans) removed to it. A piece representing this scene from Solomon's history, about a square metre in size, was seen by the banker Becker in the Boasberg Antiquarian Museum in Amsterdam. By his kindness I have in my possession a photograph of the piece, which is beautifully wrought in coloured wools.

Müllenhoff, founding on a communication by Becker, gives the following description of it in the *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum und Deutsche Literatur* of the year 1879. On the left sits the king, in a beautiful flower garden, on a golden throne, with crown and sceptre. The queen approaches him, holding in her hand a flower of the carnation or lily kind (round which a bee is buzzing), also richly arrayed and with a crown on her head; behind her a female attendant, at her feet two boys of unequal size, about two or three years old, who are plucking flowers and carrying them in their hands. Midway between the king and queen rises a large rose tree, through which there winds a scroll bearing on it the date 1506, with the following verse,—

Die Bien die rechte blüm nitt spart,
Dieses find zeigt an sin wiblich art.

Beschreibe mich finig ob die blümen vnb kind
 Von art glich oder vnglich sindt.¹

The description is incomplete. The two last of the four lines, which should stand first, are manifestly a double question addressed to the king, and that king Solomon, by the Queen of Sheba, and the two first are Solomon's answer. He is supposed to tell which are the right, *i.e.* natural, flowers and which the artificial; and he decides that the right are those on which the bees are settling. The children are dressed alike. But the king discerns that one of them is a girl. How he knows it is not explained by the description.

We are now acquainted with another Gobelin, which represents the same scene as the Amsterdam one, but far more richly executed, and which has been rescued from its long concealment to the joy of all lovers of art. Having passed into the possession of his Highness Prince Reuss of the junior line, it has been restored and framed with care and skill at Munich. The detailed description we owe to a contribution of the Court - Marshal of Meysenbug in the *Gera News* (1882, No. 78).

It was found in the church of Kirschkau near Schleiz. The old church there was built in the year 1503 and taken down in 1751. Brückner, in his *Gazetteer*, reports that the tapestry was used there as an altar-cloth. Thence it was transferred as an antiquity to the new church. There it was found behind the sacristy and the so-called

¹ The bee the living flower not spares ;
 This child its female sex declares.
 Resolve me, king, the flowers and child at sport,
 Are they of like or unlike sort ?—TR.

"old oratory," where it was nailed to a wooden partition, much injured, with ragged fringes and greatly faded in colour. The description referred to is to the following effect.

On the right side (from the spectator's standpoint) sits the king, with crown and sceptre, in rich mediæval attire, on a magnificent throne. The throne stands in a garden among fruit-laden trees, with birds fluttering among the branches. On the trunk of the one tree behind the throne is a coat of arms, showing a heraldic golden lily on a red mountain in a white field; opposite, on the left side of the picture, another coat of arms, apparently a golden cross in a black field,—probably the arms of the donors. Behind the throne stand two men wearing the dress of nobles of the sixteenth century; at the side is perched a brown ape, chained by the foot; in the far corner on the right side sits a white rabbit. On the left of the picture a female figure is seen approaching the king, in the costly dress of the sixteenth century; likewise with a crown on the head and flowers in the left hand; her train is carried by a young woman; she is followed by two women dressed alike; and a little white dog walks at her side. In front of her are two children, exactly the same in appearance and dressed alike in short frocks, one of whom is bending down to the red fruits lying on the ground. The one hand is stretched out to take an apple, while the other is holding up the skirt of its dress; the standing child, on the contrary, is opening the dress over its breast with one hand, while it is concealing the other (with the fruit it has picked up, however) in the opening. The centre of the picture

is occupied by a tree with dense foliage and abundant fruit, on the topmost branch of which sits an owl; while the ground is covered with all sorts of flowers and grasses, among which birds and a peacock are moving.

From the queen to the king, in manifold windings through the boughs of the tree behind her, passes [a scroll, on which there is embroidered in black, small Gothic characters,—

Beschied mich kinig ob die blumen vnd kind
von art gleich oder vngleich sind.¹

And on a similar scroll, which winds among the branches of the tree in the middle, that on which the owl, the symbol of wisdom, sits, we read,—

Die bienn die rechte blum nit sport
dies kind zeigt an sein wißlich art.²

The queen's first question refers to the lily-like flowers held before her in her left hand, which in their varied colours hang on long stalks, and show large insects buzzing round them. These flowers are evidently thought to be partly natural, partly artificial,—the king is to distinguish them from the distance. The other question he answers by pointing to the child which is stretching out its one hand to take the fruit, and with the other gathering up its dress.

At the end of the second inscription stands the date 1560 or 1566.

¹ Resolve me, king, the flowers and child at sport,
Are they of like or unlike sort?—Tr.

² The bee the living flower not spares,
This child its female sex declares.—Tr.

The subject of the piece is taken from 1 Kings x. (2 Chron. ix.). The Queen of Arabia, *i.e. Arabia Felix* (as Luther translates Sheba), proves the king, the fame of whose wisdom has drawn her to Jerusalem, with hard questions. It is this chapter, also, whence come the ape and the peacock. The two riddles, however, are certainly not the invention either of the weaver of the tapestry, or of the painter whose pattern he imitated in coloured wool. They belong, undoubtedly, to the ancient legend. We are in a position to prove this, in regard to the one riddle wherein Solomon distinguishes the sexes.

In the Moslem legend, Balkis sends to Solomon five hundred (the figure varies) boys and girls dressed alike, and so similar in appearance that they cannot be distinguished from one another. Besides other presents, she sends a locked casket containing a pearl, which he is to pierce; a diamond perforated with crooked windings, through which he is to pass a thread; and a crystal cup, which he is to fill with water which has neither fallen from the sky nor risen from the earth. The king knows the contents of the casket before opening it. He pierces the pearl by means of a wonderful stone, which cuts stone and metal without sound; he had come into possession of it by the directions of a prince of the spirit-world. He succeeded in passing a thread through the diamond by means of the silkworm, to which, in gratitude for the service, he assigned the mulberry tree for a habitation. The crystal cup he filled with the sweat that poured from a burly slave, having first made him take a long and rapid ride on a young fiery horse. According to another form of the legend, he named

tears, as the water which comes neither from heaven nor from earth, but drops sometimes sweet, sometimes bitter, from the human eye. The boys and girls he thus distinguished: when, according to the usual custom in the harems, water was brought to be poured on their hands, the girls received it in the palm, the boys on the backs of their hands.¹ Or the tale runs thus: the boys lifted the hand, on which the water was poured, immediately to their face, whereas the girls first filled the right hand with the water falling on the left, and then washed the face with both hands at once.²

The two Byzantine writers, Georgius Cedrenus and Michael Glykas,³ relate this proof of wisdom in the following way. Over the people of Sheba there reigned at that time the wonderful sibyl who, though she knew not the law and the prophets, was divinely moved to seek Solomon, and constrained to praise God for the wisdom vouchsafed to him. She put his wisdom to the proof, among other ways, by presenting to him boys and girls of great beauty, whose dress and hair she had made exactly alike, and asked him to distinguish the sexes. He did this by commanding them to wash themselves; the male children rubbed their faces with right good will, the females gently and timidly.

An automatic work of art, representing in a panorama the meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, was

¹ J. Von Hammer, *Rosenöl. Erstes Bändchen* (1813), p. 160 f.

² Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner* (1845), p. 262 f.

³ Cedrenus in Bd. i. p. 166 f.; and Glykas, p. 343 *der Bonner Ausgabe.*

once to be seen in the old Labyrinth (*Doolhof*) of Amsterdam, which was cleared away in 1850. On the history and literature of this *oude Doolhof*, D. C. Meijer, jr., wrote two articles in Dutch in 1883. An explanation (*Verklaringe*) of the wonders exhibited in it circulated in the sixteenth century in several editions, *e.g.* of the year 1550 (printed by Symon Houthaak in Amsterdam). The queen, intent on proving the king's wisdom, had brought with her—so says the catalogue, referring to Cedrenus as its authority—some of the most beautiful boys and girls who could possibly be found. She had them all disguised in female dress, so that no difference could be seen in their appearance, and she proposed to the king to guess which were boys and which girls. The king, who understood quite well what she wished, immediately ordered a shallow basin of water to be brought, and bade the children in their fine dresses wash themselves with their hands, and thus he soon came to distinguish the one sex from the other. For the boys washed their faces like men without more ado, but the girls, with characteristic prudery, would scarcely touch the water with the tips of their fingers.

The story in its Jewish form differs still from the foregoing. In neither of the Talmuds, the Palestinian or the Babylonian, is it found. Neither does it appear in the second Targum, *i.e.* the complete Chaldee paraphrase of the Book of Esther. There the queen propounds to the king three riddles, relating to a box of cosmetics, to naphtha, and flax. The narrative, however, also tells, that before she began her journey, she sent to the king ships laden with presents, and among

them six thousand boys and girls, all born in one and the same year, month, day, and hour, and who were of the same size and proportions, and wore the same purple dress.¹ That there lay in this the purpose of putting Solomon's wisdom to the proof, is a matter of course, but this continuation is not given. It appears, however, in the beginning of the Midrasch on the Proverbs of Solomon, and thence it has passed over to the *Jalkut Schimonis* (a collection of old expositions in the style of the Midrasch) on the first Book of Chronicles. Is that true, O Solomon, says the Queen of Sheba, which I have heard of thee and thy kingdom and wisdom? He answers: Yes. Then she propounds a riddle to him, respecting the various stages through which the human being passes, till he becomes a babe on the maternal breast;² and then a second, founded on the extraordinary relationship of Lot's daughters when they had become mothers. When he had answered both riddles, she brought in boys and girls all of the same appearance and size, and dressed alike. Now, cried she, distinguish the male from the female children! Then he beckoned to his lackeys, and they brought nuts (*egōzin*) and confections (*kelijoth*³), which he divided among them. The boys stuffed them into their pockets without the least hesitation; but the girls modestly put them in their

¹ Cassel's *Commentary on the Book of Esther* (T. & T. Clark), p. 279 ff.

² This riddle is also found in a somewhat enlarged form in the Midrasch on the first verse of Lamentations, an Athenian in Jerusalem being thereby sorely puzzled.

³ In the older language, *kelijoth* denotes roasted ears; in the later it is used of all sorts of confections.

napkins (*sudārin*). Those, exclaimed Solomon, are the males, and these the females.

Of the flower-riddle there is not a trace in Jewish literature, but in two dramas of Calderon's, which both handle the legend, we find that the Queen of Sheba,¹ as a sibyl gifted with the spirit of prophecy, recognised the future cross of the Redeemer in a tree which she found in Jerusalem. The source from which Calderon took this legend is, as has been proved by Wilhelm Meyer,² the great work of the Spanish Jesuit Johannes de Pineda, *de rebus Salomonis regis*, 1608 (concerning the affairs of King Solomon). In Pineda there is not a word of the flower-riddle, and he knows the other relating to the distinguishing of the sexes only in the form in which it is given by Cedrenus. The older of the two dramas, according to Meyer, is the *Auto* (religious play), *El Arbol de mejor fruto* (the tree of better fruit); the drama *La Sibila del Oriente* is a later handling of the fable.³ In the third act of the Sibyl, a bunch of natural and artificial flowers is held out to Solomon, and Saba (the queen), along with Irene (one of her female attendants), challenge him to distinguish between the

¹ He calls her Nicaula, as Gottfried of Viterbo also does: *Australis regina venit Nicaula Sibylla* (the southern queen came, Nicaula the sibyl). The name is from Josephus, who refers to Herodotus. In the Irish legend she is called *Berbes Nicolaa*. See Gust. Schirmer, *Ueber die Kreuzeslegenden im Leabhar Breac*, St. Gallen, 1886.

² Ueber Calderon's *Sibylle des Orients*, Münchener akad. Festrede, 1879.

³ The *auto* was translated and illustrated by Franz Lorinser, 1861; the Sibyl of the East has been inserted by him in vol. v. (1875) of his larger translation: *Calderon's grösste Dramen religiösen Inhaltes*.

true and the false. He bids them hold out the bunch for a little, and soon decides,—

Eine Biene

Sah ich eben sie umschwärmen,
Doch sich nicht drauf niederlassen.
Das gab deutlich zu erkennen,
Daß die Blume künstlich, da sie
Als unbrauchbar ward verschmähet.¹

In the religious play there are two bunches laid before Solomon, by order of the queen, for his decision: the bunch of Astrea consisting of natural Arabian flowers, and the bunch of Palmyra (idolatry personified) of artificial flowers. Meantime a second riddle is proposed: Why the same object when seen through one and the same polished crystal, appears to one diminished, to another magnified? Before occupying himself with this puzzle, he exclaims: Those are the natural flowers, these the false. How dost thou distinguish? asks Saba. He answers, while all eagerly listen in silence,—

Über jenen Blumen schwirren
Liebend, in geschäft'gen Kreisen,
Gorgsam ems'ge Bienen; über
Diesen andern nur unreine
Fliegen; jene trinken durstig
Aus den süßen Farbenkelchen
Nektar, den in Honig künstlich

¹ A bee

Even now I saw among them buzzing,
But not once did it thereon settle.
Thus clearly gave it to be understood,
That art-made are the flowers, for they,
As all unuseful, were despised.—TR.

Sie verwandeln, während jene
Sie umfliegend nur bestücken.¹

Calderon was born at Madrid on the 17th of January 1600, but the two tapestries, that of Amsterdam and that of Gera, bear the dates 1506 and 1560 (66). The flower-riddle is therefore not the invention of Calderon.

Pliny, in his *Natural History*, xi. 8, says that bees do not settle on dead flowers, far less dead bodies.² Conrad of Megenberg repeats this in his *Book of Nature*: *si schadent kainer frucht noch den toten pluomen* (they harm nō fruit nor dead flowers). But dead flowers are not artificial, but withered ones, as he adds: *daz sint die dürren pluomen*. The origin of the flower-riddle is to some extent, but not yet satisfactorily, cleared up. For even supposing dead flowers include those that are artificial, the question still remains: How came the weaver of the tapestry, who first represented this trial of Solomon's wisdom by the Arabian queen, or rather how came the designer or painter who furnished him with the cartoon on this riddle, to connect it with that about the sexes in the form of the Jewish Midrasch? To this question Wilh. Hertz, in his learned study on the Queen of Sheba's riddles, has no answer; for the

¹ Over those flowers you see
A busy, well-pleased eager throng
Of bees in restless circles ;
Over these others nought but
Unclean insects ; those thirstily
Out of the sweet cups many-hued
Drink nectar, which into honey
They artfully convert, while those
Touch the fair petals, only to befoul.—TR.

² *Mortuis ne floribus quidem, non modo corporibus, insidunt.*

frescoes of Landshut, which represent scenes from the life of Solomon, and among others the scene of the flower-riddle, were executed in 1672, that is to say, a century later than the two tapestries.¹

Raphael's Cartoons for the Sixtine Chapel were sent to Flanders. It was in Brussels, and from these models, that the magnificent tapestries were wrought, which on St. Stephen's day, 1519, were first seen on the walls of the chapel, amid universal admiration.² So early as the twelfth century, tapestry was a flourishing Flemish industry. Charles Fifth gave the guild of tapestry-weavers a constitution dating from the 16th of May 1544, assigning them their rights in twenty-four articles *sur le style et mestier des tapisseries des Pays-bas*. Lacordaire, in his *Notice Historique* (Paris, 1853), gives a full account of the history of the Paris Gobelin manufacture with the previous Flemish history. He gives a list of hundreds of their designs, but the Queen of Sheba is not among them.

Both tapestries, that of Amsterdam, which has passed into the hands of the well-known collector Spitzer of Paris, and that of Kirschkau, now in Gera, in the possession of Prince Reuss of the younger line, are, as the scrolls indicate, of German workmanship, and if we are to judge from the costumes, most probably from a Low Country pattern. The language, however, in which the four lines of rhyme are written (*kinig, wiblich, glich, vnglich*), points rather to the Upper than the Lower Rhine. It is the common High German of the sixteenth century.

¹ *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum u. Deutsche Litteratur*, 1883.

² Springer in Dohme's *Kunst und Künstler Italiens*, Bd. ii. p. 265.

IX.

The Bible and Wine.



IX.

THE BIBLE AND WINE.

A YEAR ago I was sitting in confidential talk with a friend in a vine-covered arbour near the bank of our glorious Rhine, I, as host for the time, with my glass of beer, he with a bottle of the noble growth of his native region. Carried away by a sudden fit of enthusiasm, I exclaimed : Is it not so ? Just as this view of the Rhine charms us both, so the Jordan laved the roots of Christianity not less than those of Judaism; for it was through the Jordan that Israel, coming out of Egypt, marched into Canaan, and it was through the Jordan that Jesus, having returned out of Egypt, passed, afterwards to traverse the Holy Land as a preacher of the kingdom of heaven. I observed, that though the parallel did not offend my friend, yet it surprised him, and I gave the matter a more harmless turn, saying : Well, then, about one thing there can be no difference of opinion, that, just as we two are sitting in one and the same vine-covered arbour, so the Old and the New Testament Scriptures are equally pervaded by figures taken from wine and vines, and vineyards and vine-culture. However many may be the things in which they differ, in respect of wine

they are one. They are like an arbour overrun by the vine in front and rear, and filled with its perfume. To this effect let us pledge one another! The matter deserves a toast:—

In vino veritas
Atque sinceritas.
Quidquid latebit
Mox apparebit.

In wine is verity
And pure sincerity.
What's dark as night
'Twill bring to light.

Let this reminiscence from the Middle Rhine be the preface to my talk with you to-day.

Rhineland was not always a vine land, but Palestine, which is fondly called the land of joy, was in the earliest times a country of the vine. At the time, indeed, when the good Roman Emperor Probus, from 276, took an interest in the cultivation of his conquered territories, and planted the vine on the banks of the Rhine, the culture of it had already suffered severely in the land of the Jordan; for the wars of independence against the Romans, the first of which terminated in the year 72 with the destruction of Jerusalem, and the second in the year 135 with the exclusion of the Jews from Jerusalem rebuilt, had laid the once richly-laden trellises utterly waste. The Jewish city became heathen under Hadrian, and Christian under Constantine. But from the time it became a Moslem city in the year 637, and the whole land, as far as Lebanon, fell into the possession of Moslem rulers, the culture of the vine, owing to the prohibition of wine by the Koran, utterly collapsed. The erection of a Christian kingdom of Jerusalem by the Crusaders made little change in this respect, for the

vine, as the Prophet Zechariah calls it, is a “seed of peace.” Vine-culture demands peace still more than agriculture. But the dominion of the Christians was maintained only by constant readiness for war, and without anything like assured peace. And since the Osmanlis, in 1517, became masters of Palestine, their indolence and mismanagement have wholly effaced its former fertility, and there is now only the merest remnant of the once widespread and far-famed culture of the Palestinian vine. The Moslems only cultivate it either to use the grapes themselves, or to sell them. Up till 1869 it was only grown for the purpose of making wine by the Christians, in the region of Lebanon, and by the Jews, chiefly in Hebron. But since that date the so-called Temple Society, founded by Hoffman of Würtemberg, has colonized Palestine, and wherever the settlers have established themselves,—on the coast of the Mediterranean (Jaffa, Sharon, Haifa), and in the highlands of Judah (Jerusalem),—a better day has dawned for the vine, which may be regarded as a first step towards the fulfilment of the words of the Prophet Joel (iii. 18) regarding the mountains dropping down sweet wine.

There was a time when the mountains of the Holy Land, and especially of Judea, were cultivated in terraces to a great elevation, so that the poet of Ps. lxxii., regarding the time of peace under Solomon, can without exaggeration express the wish: “May there be abundance of corn in the land to the tops of the mountains, may the fruit shake like Lebanon.” And Isaiah, in chap. v., comparing the disappointed expecta-

tion of the God of Israel with that of a husbandman, strikes up the song as if he were a strolling musician : "Now will I sing of my well-beloved [the prophet's well-beloved is his God], a song of my well-beloved touching His vineyard. My well-beloved had a vineyard on a hill, the son of fatness. And He made a trench about it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also hewed out a wine-press therein ; and He looked that it should bring forth grapes, and—it brought forth wild grapes." The hill was the son of fatness—fatness, that is, was native to it ; it belonged naturally to the fruitful soil. The earth from which the fruit sprang was not laboriously carried up, but was natural to it. The chief element which goes to form this cultivable superficial stratum of the mountains on this side the Jordan is the limestone, which has been decomposed by the action of the weather. That "hill" (mountain-horn) of the parable, half-way to the top or on the plateau immediately below the summit, was richly covered with such fat soil, in a situation so protected that it could not be washed down. And from such ground the best possible crop was to be expected from the choice vines with which it was planted. The experiments of recent times confirm the fact, that while the sandy soil of the coast yields more, the chalky soil of the highlands yields better wine. The wine of Jaffa, in respect of the amount of alcohol it contains, corresponds to that of France ; the wine of Hebron and Jerusalem is as fiery as that of Spain, or even more so.

The rapidity with which the culture of the vine has developed in the hands of those Templars to whom I have referred, shows what a wine-country Palestine might become, if the soil on the slopes of the hills were supported by terraces, and the work of cultivation were sedulously carried on and protected. So it was formerly. As the peninsula of Sinai, when the chosen people wandered in it for forty years, was not yet to the same extent the howling wilderness which it afterwards became, so Palestine, as described by Moses in Deuteronomy, was "a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths springing forth in plains and hills, a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates, a land of oil-olive and honey, a land where the people needed not to eat their bread sparingly." The cultivation of the vine is treated in the Mosaic law as one of the chief matters of national industry. Of the kings, Solomon and Uzziah are specially celebrated for their services in promoting it. When the land came under the dominion of the Chaldees, even the conquerors sought to maintain the worth of the province by keeping up agriculture and vine-culture as much as possible. When we collect the images of Holy Scripture from the books of history, prophecy, and doctrine, and make them pass before us, with an open eye for the beautiful in nature, we can see a spectacle stretching right and left before us (from the oasis of Engedi on the Dead Sea upwards to Lebanon, and from Hebron south-westwards to the southern border of Judah, and still more, northwards from the plain of Jezreel across to the outspurs of Carmel), of

silver-green plantations of the olive, and dark-green plantations of fig-trees and smiling vine-trellises. A considerable portion of this beauty remained down to the first century of our era. Josephus boasts that on the shore of the Lake of Gennesaret, it was possible during ten months of the year to pluck ripe grapes and figs (these two he calls the kings of fruits). And where the vine is cultivated at the present day, the productive power of nature is shown to be enormous. The missionary Stephanus Schultz tells that there are clusters twelve pounds in weight, and with grapes of the size of plums. On the southern slopes of Lebanon he found a vine thirty feet high, the branches of which formed an arbour more than fifty feet in length and breadth. And in the work on Palestine by Ebers-Guthe, mention is made of a vine found in one of the gardens of Jericho, the stem of which was in diameter from twelve to fifteen inches. In the district of Jaffa the vine is almost indestructible; it may be cut or sawn under the head, again it grows up, and even when, year after year, it is cut at the depth of a foot under ground, it rises again in full vigour.

So rich in wine was the land, and especially Judea in former times, that in the poetical language of prophecy, it is said that the inhabitants could wash their clothes in wine as in water, and without any anxiety about the harm that might be done, could bind their horses or mules to the choicest vine for a stake. The olive, fig, and vine are the ancient emblems of the land of Israel. In the fable which Jotham tells the men of Shechem, to warn them against submitting to the sovereignty of the

fratricide Abimelech, the trees go to anoint a king. First, they approach the olive, which, as the producer of the anointing - oil, seems to be designated for the honour most immediately; then the fig - tree, whose mantling crown resembles a canopy; next, the vine, which is rather a creeper than a tree; and prefers to spread itself over the stem of the fig; but the vine also declines: "Should I leave my wine, which cheereth God and man, and go to wave to and fro over the trees?" It is a standing image of a time of prosperous peace, when every man is described as sitting under his own vine and fig-tree. As the Prophet Zechariah pictures to himself the future time of freedom and peace, he exclaims (ix. 17): "How good and how beautiful! Corn shall make the young men flourish, and new wine the maids," i.e. the young men shall thrive on the strengthening food of the land, and the soft sweet juice of the grape impart a youthful freshness to the cheeks of the maiden. And in the Song of Songs, where all that is grandest in the vegetable world is gathered together, as in the *Isola Bella* of the *Lago Maggiore*, the vine stands foremost. Solomon's only beloved has a browned complexion, because her stern brothers have made her the keeper of the vineyard. Visiting her home at the foot of the little Hermon, leaning on Solomon's arm, she uses a figure borrowed from his vineyard in Baalhamon, to make the king aware that as he rewards the keepers of this vineyard, so he must not leave the keepers of hers, i.e. her brothers, the keepers of her virginity, without suitable gifts. Meanwhile we hear how she is visited by the king before she is led home,

and how, when challenged to let the notes of her voice be heard, she sings a vineyard song,—

Siehe mit duftigen Blüten geschmücket
Stehet der Weinberg, schon keimen die Beeren.
Auf denn und sahet die Füchse, die kleinen,
Dass sie den lieblichen uns nicht verheerden! ¹

The opening of the vine-blossom, which in Hebrew bears the beautiful name *semadar*, appears three times in the song as a sign of spring. Every one who visits a vineyard at the blossoming time (on the Rhine, the end of May), is delighted with the matchless perfume.

Apart altogether from the vintage - feast, vineyards were chosen as the scene of popular festivals. As Israelitish history has its Iphigenia in Jephthah's daughter, who falls a victim to a vow, it has also a counterpart to the rape of the Sabines in that of the maidens of Shiloh. The tribe of Benjamin had been reduced to a small remnant by the war of vengeance, which the other tribes had waged against it, and these had sworn not to give their daughters in marriage to Benjamites. It was a popular festival which was kept yearly in Shiloh, which provided a way of escape from the dilemma. The daughters of Shiloh were engaged in their dances, when the Benjamites burst forth from the vineyards, and carried them off as their wives, the elders of the congregation meantime conniving at the deed. And so late as the time of the Herods, there were

¹ See, with sweet-smelling blossoms the vineyard
Stands all arrayed, the grapes bud in haste.
Up then, and catch us the foxes, the small ones,
Lest the fair promise they cruelly waste.—TR.

connected with the 15th of Ab (the last day of the felling of sacrificial wood), and the 10th of Tisri (the day of Atonement), two singular merry-makings for the whole population of Jerusalem; for on these days the maidens went out to the surrounding vineyards in white dresses, which even the richest had borrowed, that the feelings of the poor might be spared. There they danced before the youths who gathered to the spectacle, and whom they twitted in sportive songs.

It is worthy of note that the winged word, "Wine maketh glad the heart of man," is found in the Psalter, and that, too, in Ps. civ., which is a song of praise to God the Creator. The interest of Holy Scripture in nature is not determined merely by the charm of natural beauty, nor merely by the enjoyment which the products of nature furnish in the form of food and drink, but it is supremely a religious interest. Scripture sees divine thoughts embodied in them, earthly copies of heavenly originals, miracles of creative omnipotence and wisdom, gifts of heavenly love. The enchanting view of a noble vine-landscape points upwards to God the Creator and Giver, and when it is laid waste, the view of this desolation saddens, very much like a table heaped up with festal gifts, when it is overturned and all that stood on it is wrecked. In this mood Isaiah, in his oracle on Moab, laments the desolation of the Moabite vineyards by the Assyrian war. The city Jazer weeps for the desolated vines of Sibmah, the prophet joins in the weeping, and laments with it, that over the

rich fields of the sister cities of Heshbon and Elealeh there has been heard the hedad (hurrah, war-cry) of the storming foe instead of the hedad (tra-la-la) of the vintagers,—

Therefore I will weep with the weeping of Jazer for the vine
of Sibmah,
I will water thee with my tears, O Heshbon and Elealeh !
For upon thy summer fruits and on thy vintage
The hedad (battle-shout) has fallen.

Joel's lamentation, likewise, over the all - parching drought and all - devouring clouds of locusts, is chiefly a strain of sympathetic mourning with nature herself, though embracing also the destruction of the provision for man and beast, and especially of the needful supplies for the daily worship : " The meat - offering and the drink-offering is cut off from the house of Jahveh ; the priests, the ministers of Jahveh mourn." They mourn because the offering of the daily morning and evening sacrifice, which was never intermitted before, even under the sorest pressure of siege, has become impossible through the laying waste of the fields and vines.

The daily morning and evening sacrifice closed with a libation of wine, during which the trumpets of the priests and the singing and music of the Levites sounded forth. This is described in the Book of Sirach, and excellently translated by Luther : " He (namely, the high priest, Simon II.) stretched out his hand with the drink-offering, and offered red wine, and poured it out at the foot of the altar, as a sweet-smelling savour to the Highest, who is King of all. Then the sons of Aaron shouted, and blew with high-sounding trumpets,

that their memorial might come up before the Highest. Then suddenly all the people at once fell to the ground, on their faces, and prayed to the Lord, their Almighty God, Most High. And the singers praised Him with psalms, and the whole house rang again with the sweet sounds." In the Mischna Tract on meat-offerings (*menachoth*), the places are named from which the best and second best wine for the libation was brought. Among the latter places there is named the white city on the hill. This is probably Nazareth, for in ancient documents it is called the white city, because the houses are built of white limestone, and because it lies in an amphitheatre formed of white chalky hills. At the present day, its cultivation of the vine is unimportant. The branches trail on the ground; the red and white grapes are cut before they are ripe, and are brought to market to be taken as a refreshing dessert.

That the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments condemn immoderate indulgence in wine is a matter of course. It would be an impious error if the contrary inference were drawn from the fact that they sometimes speak of a raised, exultant frame (*e.g.* Ps. xxxvi. 8) as a being drunk. Wine and every other strong drink are forbidden to priests when officiating, under threat of death; and it is a principal requisite in the case of the elders and deacons of the Church, that they be not given to wine. Only two parties, however, in the Old Testament were total abstainers from wine—the Nazarite, who had taken a vow of abstinence for a definite period,

or for his lifetime, and the nomad family of the Rechabites, whose inexorable adherence to their hereditary practice was held up by Jeremiah as a pattern to his own countrymen. There were also Jewish - Christians in the Church of the Romans who, on principle, denied themselves the use of flesh and wine, perhaps because the time seemed unsuitable for such indulgence, as many after the destruction of Jerusalem said : "Should we eat flesh and drink wine now when that altar is destroyed, on which God was wont to have flesh offered and wine poured out to Him ?" Under certain circumstances, there are undoubtedly justifiable reasons for abstaining from wine, and for organizing such voluntary abstinence, to counteract the terrible evil caused by the use of alcoholic drinks. This is the ground which the Anglo-American representatives of the temperance movement should take, without attempting to wrest the Scripture argument to support the conclusion that all use of fermented wine is anti-scriptural. How often have I been asked in this connection, Whether the wine of the four cups used at the Jewish Passover was fermented ! They would so like to substitute unfermented must for fermented wine in the Lord's Supper. But the Jewish Paschal wine is really fermented. Must, in the proper sense of the word, *i.e.* grape-juice freshly drawn from the wine-press, and yet unfermented, there is none at Easter ; after the first few days the first fermentation begins, and therewith the formation of alcohol. The juice of preserved grapes is also excluded by the season of Easter ; at the utmost we can only think of a distilled liquid, with the addition of spices

poured over dried grapes—an allowable substitute for real wine, but this, too, is not without intoxicating power. So it must have been fermented wine¹ which Jesus gave to the disciples at His parting feast, when He closed with the mysterious utterance: "Verily I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in My Father's kingdom." The words suggest a figurative saying of the ancient synagogue, that there is a wine in the future world, which has been preserved since the close of the six days of creation, to be at length enjoyed by the blessed.

The vine is a beautiful figure of rising from lowliness to honour in the service of men. Among useful plants there is not one more modest or more patient; not one which does so much without ostentation, or which, with an unpretentious form, contributes so much delight. The vine suffers with magnanimity; it puts up with the most diverse soils, and somewhat severe degrees of cold, and does not succumb even to bad treatment. Hence in Jacob's blessing, Joseph is compared to a vine, the dreamer given over by his brothers to the heathen, who, in his exalted condition, became the saviour and benefactor of his people. Hence, in Ps. lxxx., Israel is compared to a vine, a stock transplanted from the soil of Egyptian bondage to Canaan, which, though sorely

¹ In the first impression, by an oversight, "unfermented" appeared, which gave rise to serious errors in the circle of my German, and yet more of my English, readers. Meanwhile Edw. Millard of Vienna recognised the "droll accident;" and D. Burns, in the *Temperance Record*, corrected the error of the press from the context.

torn and gnawed, yet remains an object of the divine choice and protection, and of a love which cannot fail to be revealed in the end. And hence, also, Jesus compares Himself to a vine, His Father to a vine-dresser, and His disciples to the branches; and the Church sings of the wine which He administers sacramentally,—

Heiliger Wein, sei mir gesegnet,
Weil mir der mit dir begegnet,
Deffen Blut mich lässt finden
Die Vergebung meiner Sünden.¹

Through these three figures taken from the vine, the circle of historical connection revolves, but an intermediate member is yet wanting. The Messiah is Son of David, and the prophets know Him familiarly under the name of David. But where is David compared to a vine? Sitting with my friend in the vine-arbour on the Rhine, I told him how in the library of the Jerusalem convent at Constantinople there had been found an old Church Service undoubtedly of Jewish-Christian origin, the text of which has been known since 1883. In it there occurs a prayer connected with the Holy Supper, to this effect: "We thank Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of Thy servant David, which Thou didst make known to us by Thy servant Jesus." No one has yet succeeded in pointing out whence this image of the vine of David has been taken.

I think I know, said my friend, but we have no

¹ Hallowed wine, accept my greeting,
For thou with Him provid'st a meeting,
Whose blood enables me to gain
Forgiveness of my every stain.—TR.

books here. Then he took a draught, smiled, and continued: It is remarkable how the old Jewish and old Christian literature agree in the matter of wine. That's what I wanted to be at, cried I: Old and New Testament are one stream, like the German Middle Rhine from Bingen to Coblenz and from Coblenz to Bonn,—one stream in which mountains and vineyards and stars and sun are mirrored. He was silent, and let me have the last word. And so let it be my last word to you to-day!

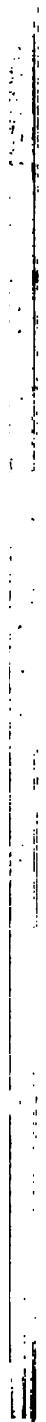
POSTSCRIPT.

The explanation, of which my friend on the Rhine was thinking, was to be found, I have little doubt, in Ps. lxxx. There Israel is compared to a vine transplanted from Egypt to Canaan, and vers. 14 and 15 run: "Return, we beseech Thee, O God of hosts: look down from heaven, and behold, and visit this vine. And shelter that which Thy right hand hath planted, and the Son [branch] Thou didst bind fast to Thyself." These verses are translated in the Targum (the Aramaic paraphrase): "Return, we beseech Thee, O God of hosts, look down from heaven, and behold, and think in mercy of this vine; and of the shoot which Thy right hand hath planted, and of the King Messiah (*malka meschîcha*), whom Thou madest strong for Thyself." Here the parallel is completed: Vine = Messiah (David). I may

add, that in the Apocalypse of Baruch, which belongs to about the same date as the "Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles," the vine (with a fountain beneath it) appears as an emblem of the Messiah (chaps. xxxvi.-xxxix.). While the cedar representing the world - power takes fire, and is burned to ashes, the vine grows, and all round about it becomes a field full of unfading flowers.

X.

**Dancing and the Criticism of the Pentateuch in
relation to one another.**



X.

DANCING AND THE CRITICISM OF THE PENTATEUCH IN RELATION TO ONE ANOTHER.

AMONG the Hebrews dancing was common in the earliest times, and continued to be so in their later history. It prevailed at their feasts, and never did they learn to celebrate these with hanging heads.

These propositions we maintain, in face of modern criticism on the Pentateuch. We do not stop to challenge the assertion, that the middle books of the Pentateuch present the latest form of the Mosaic law, but we deny that this legislation impaired the natural joy of earlier times belonging to the ancient feasts.

We are not speaking of the Judaism of the Talmud and of the Ghetti, but of the people after their restoration from the exile. It is said they no longer formed a people, but a sect.¹ But they heroically wrested their independence from the Seleucidæ in the time of the Maccabees ; they reasserted it in two insurrections against the Roman yoke, and it expired only under the

¹ Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (1886), p. 29 : "It was not the nation that returned from the exile, but a religious sect,—those who had given themselves body and soul to the reforming ideas." Smend, in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, ii. 94 : "Ancient Israel was a people and a national state, the Jews a religious body."

Emperors Vespasian and Hadrian in a manner tragical beyond all example. The histories of these wars of independence are undoubtedly great national histories.

And why should the post-exilic people be counted a sect? Unity of religion, common religious worship, and a central sanctuary, are surely not things which rob a people of national character. The Arab tribes and those nationalities which all unite in praying with their faces turned toward the Caaba in Mecca, and know no higher blessedness than at least once in their life to make a pilgrimage to that sacred spot, surely are not on that account sects.

But, it is said, the legislation of the post-exilic priestly code robbed the religious services of their fresh, popular character, by regulating them by statute, binding them to the temple, giving to the sacrifices a preponderating reference to sin and atonement, and making the old feasts of the seasons, whose name *haggim* denotes "dances," into general Church feasts with historical references. "Threshing-floor and winepress, corn and grape-juice, were the bases of the ancient Israelitish worship; simple joy and jubilant mirth were its expression."¹

We maintain that it continued to be the same in later times. After the exile the feasts were divested of their earlier heathen character, and became the national feasts of a monotheistic people, without impairing the festal joy. Delight in the dance remained the same as before. To prove this, let us take a few pictures from the life of the people, and these from the

¹ Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, pp. 99, 100.

rather dark than bright period, when they were ruled by the vassal Herods under the Roman dominion.

On the north side of the hill, on which stands Anathoth, the birthplace of the Prophet Jeremiah, four miles and a quarter to the north of Jerusalem, there appears a group of the inhabitants eagerly looking out into the distance. The sound of music has been caught. For in the pure air of Palestine sound is propagated more quickly and to a greater distance than with us. After long waiting, a procession is seen coming down from a height, and by and by it crosses the valley to the sound of music. The music ceases, as the procession climbs the steep path to Anathoth. Meanwhile the news has spread to the whole neighbourhood. The comers are welcomed from the flat roofs of the upper houses by the waving of handkerchiefs. The youth of the place run hither and thither shouting merrily *chalilajja* (flutes!) *majtajja de-bikkurajja* (bringers of firstlings!). Now the procession has gained the ridge of the hill, the music sounds forth again, and crowds swarm from all the houses of the neighbourhood. In front of the procession walks a stately ox, its horns gilded, and a garland of olive on its head. Then come musicians, playing merry airs on the flute; then asses laden with baskets, some of them plain, others adorned with gold and silver, full of fresh figs and grapes, other asses with baskets full of dried figs and raisins, and others still with cages full of young doves and turtles. Last come the representatives of the district of Michmash,

who are now bearing its first-fruits to the temple. The flute is the proper instrument for dance-music, and accordingly in the Lord's similitude, taken from the children playing in the market-place, those who are in ill-humour say to the others : We have played *the flute* unto you, and ye have not danced (Luke vii. 32). The whole population of Anathoth is as if it had been stung by the tarantula. The procession, after taking some refreshment, again moves on to the sound of music and descends into the green valley. Thereupon old and young follow in the rear ; mothers dandle their babies as if to take part in the dance ; girls trip merrily in front, forming rings in the path of the procession, to break up on its approach ; male choirs strike up national melodies, such as "Pray for the good of Jerusalem, let them prosper who love thee!" Many follow almost to the walls of Jerusalem, where the procession halts and sends messengers into the city to announce its arrival. Meanwhile the firstlings are tastefully arranged, and the finest of the grapes, pomegranates, and other fruits are laid out in the form of a wreath. Deputies from the temple come to receive the visitors with all honour, and when now they march into Jerusalem to the sound of music, the workmen, who there work in front of their houses on the street, pause for a little, rise, and greet the visitors with the words : Brethren, men of Michmash, welcome to our city ! Then the full baskets, with the doves fastened to them, are borne up the temple hill on the shoulders of the offerers themselves, and as they enter the outer court of the temple, they are welcomed with a psalm sung by Levites. The doves are presented

as a burnt-offering, the ox as a peace-offering, and of this the offerers receive a portion for a joyous meal, which might be held anywhere, wherever they lodged in Jerusalem.¹ Is not all this popular, full of nature, beautiful and merry; and was it not natural that, when the people had their own land again, land and people in their totality should present this tribute of gratitude from the fulness of the blessing divinely vouchsafed? Thereby no limit was imposed on the free-will offerings of individuals.

The land was divided into twenty-four districts, so that there was scarcely a highway in it the dwellers on which might not between Pentecost and the feast of tabernacles have the opportunity of enjoying the glad spectacle of such a *bikkurim* procession. The days of the last-mentioned feast also gave abundant proof that the post-exilic feasts left the mirthfulness of nature associated with them unimpaired. At that season, before the grey dawn of the first feast-day, if it was not a Sabbath, there might be seen a festal throng streaming out of Jerusalem by the Jaffa gate. The way leads first over stony ground, and then winds down a long slope into the Chanina valley, above which, on the right, stood the villages of Moza and Colonia. The green of the orchards, restored by the first showers of the early rain, is hailed with jubilant shouts. The people spread out on either side of the bridge which crosses the brook, with its shade of high black poplars, some of them to pluck branches with their own hands,

¹ Chief passage: Mischna, *Bikkurim*, iii. 2, 3, and also the Palestinian Gemara.

to be borne at the feast, others to watch the men who are honoured with the commission to fetch from Colonia the leafy adornment of the altar. They seek out the longest and finest branches of those poplars and cut them off. Then the whole multitude forms again in procession, and with shout and song and jest they return to the temple hill, where the large poplar branches are received by the priests and set upright round the sides of the altar, so that the tops meet over it. While the altar was thus embowered, trumpets were blown by the priests; and once every feast day, and on the seventh, seven times, the people moved round it with willow branches or the festal garland, formed of a palm branch (*lulab*) bound with myrtle and willow. As they did so they uttered the usual hosanna shout; and when the last round was completed, they cried out: Beauty becometh thee, O altar! Beauty becometh thee, O altar!¹ Whether we regard these post-exilic customs in good taste or not, they are certainly not sour and gloomy. Luther, in translating Ps. cxviii. 27: "Adorn the feast with May-trees (*Maien*), even to the horns of the altar," compares those poplar boughs to the birches which we set up at Whitsuntide as May-trees, and round which the May or Whitsun dance is performed. For the world of creation has its feasts, and the world of spirits has *its* feasts, and there is nothing more joyous and full of meaning than when they interpenetrate and pervade one another.

¹ Mischna, *Succa*, division iv. Maimonides, *Hilchoth Lulab*, iv. 21-23; comp. in regard to what was carried in procession round the altar, *Succa*, 43^b.

And now we come to those which may properly be called dance - feasts. One of the happiest days the people had was the 15th Ab, a July or August day, when the felling of wood for the altar of burnt-offering was completed, on which, even when there was no sacrifice, fire was to be kept glimmering day and night, by renewing the fuel. As the Græco-Roman fights in the amphitheatre were the chief cause of the disappearance of the lion from Palestine and all the countries round the Mediterranean, so that altar, which consumed an enormous quantity of wood, is mainly accountable for the fact that there are no woods to be found far and wide round about Jerusalem, only brushwood or solitary trees. But at the time to which we go back, notwithstanding the devastating wars which had preceded it, it was otherwise. Then there were still woods with tall trees not far from Jerusalem, and especially on the highlands of Ephraim and Benjamin; and the duty of supplying the altar thence with fuel was a distinction coveted by the priestly, Levite and patrician families, among whom the woods were divided by lot. Nehemiah, in the biblical book composed of extracts from his memorabilia, attaches great importance to the organization formed for this supply of wood, or, as it is called, wood-offering. The 15th Ab was the last day of the felling of the wood, when all, without family distinction, could take part in bringing it to the city,—the feast of the *Xylophoriae*, as Josephus calls it. Old and young, rich and poor, marched out to the woods, the finest ornament was the axe on the shoulder, and as the wood was brought in waggons or on beasts of burden, chiefly oxen,

or on stout backs to the precincts of the temple, the jubilation was not inferior to the joy of the harvest-feast.¹ For a people is and remains a natural, not a spiritual, quantity, and therefore celebrates even religious festivals with a natural outburst of feeling, simple mirth, jubilant exultation. It lies in the nature of a people as such.

Even the deep solemnity of the day of Atonement changed on the same evening to glad merriment. "Nothing is more characteristic, it is said of the post-exilic worship, which, in contrast to the old, points at every turn to sin and expiation, than that it culminates in a great feast of atonement."² But the later celebration of this day in funereal dress is only a black shadow of the original style. The celebration in the temple was from beginning to end a drama of the most arresting and significant character. When the high priest came out of the Holy of Holies after completing his functions there, the sight was rich in comfort and gladness to the people, and poetry could not find words fit to describe it: "like the peace-speaking bow on the painted clouds, like the evening star when it emerges from the eastern dusk, like the sun when it unfolds its blossoms of rosy light."³ Again, it was a gleesome interlude, when he gave over the scape-goat to the man who had to lead it from the outer court of the temple down to the city.

¹ Authorities: Mischna, *Taanith*, part iv., with Neh. x. 35, xiii. 31; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 17. 6; comp. Herzfeld, *Gesch. Israels*, i. 67 f., 144 f., ii. 126, 182 f.; and Rosenzweig, *Das Jahrhundert nach dem babyl. Exile* (1885), p. 126.

² Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 113.

³ See my *History of Jewish Poetry* (1836), p. 21 f.

The people thronged to see the goat and to pull and chase it, in such numbers that it and its leader needed a strong guard.¹ When the ceremony was over, a procession accompanied the high priest to his dwelling in the city, where a banquet awaited him with his nearest friends. With this, however, the young people did not concern themselves. They made ready to go out to the vineyards. For round about Jerusalem there are hills, vine-clad hills. In the limestone uplands of Judea, and especially near Jerusalem, there grows a wine which is superior to the German and even the Spanish in strength. Twice in the year, on the last day of the wood-offering and on the day of Atonement, there was pleasure-dancing in the vineyards.² The maidens, without ornament, were dressed in white, borrowing newly washed dresses for the occasion; even the rich borrowed them, not to put the poor to shame. The enjoyment reached its height in the circular dances. The males and females stood opposite and met one another dancing and singing. The singing was done by the male voices; but under the chastening influence of the day's solemnities, the meeting took the form, in a measure, of looking for or choosing a bride. In the Book of Judges (chap. xxi.) we read that a similar dance-feast was celebrated yearly by the maidens of Shiloh in the vineyards outside the city. There it is called a feast to the Lord. And neither was the dance of the daughters of Jerusalem without a religious significance. Thus there is no proof

¹ Mischna, *Joma*, vi. 3-6.

² Mischna, *Taanith*, iv. 8; comp. *Gesch. der jüdischen Poesie*, p. 195 f.

that the legislation of the priestly code converted the piety which had formerly been a popular observance, into individual exercises. It is true that Mosaism did not at any stage of its development make dancing a part of religious worship, but neither did it banish it from this sphere; but after the exile, as well as before, left it untouched as a popular custom, hallowed by religious associations. Feasts were dances before, and they remained dances after. This is proved by the history.

For we have still to mention a *non plus ultra*,—the delight of the Beth-has-choëba or torch-dance feast, of which the common saying was, that he who did not know this joy, did not know what joy was. The feast of tabernacles, as that of the harvest-home, was the most joyous of all; and therefore the inventive genius of the people enriched it with graceful and mirthful customs, going far beyond the letter of the Pentateuchal law. To this category belong the illumination of the temple and the torch-dance during the nights of the half-feast days.¹ This dance is mentioned by a professional connoisseur, I mean the Court teacher of dancing at Berlin, Rudolph Voss, in that distinguished work of his on Dancing and its History (1868), which shows such a marvellous knowledge of books, and he praises it in terms only too extravagant: “There is not a people in the world which down to the present day has a dance to point to, which for nobility and grandeur of idea and execution can compare with this holy torch-dance.”

¹ The feast of tabernacles lasts eight days. Days one, two, and seven and eight are high or full feast days, the intervening three, four, five, and six are half-feast days, on which one might follow his business and do necessary work.

When the high day at the beginning of the feast was at an end, priests and Levites set to work in the women's court of the temple and erected a double gallery for the spectators, the upper for the women and the lower for the men. Enormous candelabra were set up, each with four gilded bowls. Mounted on ladders, four young priests supplied these with oil, and wicks without number were laid in the bowls. When the lamps of these candelabra began to sparkle, and the light of the numerous torches was added, not only was the temple converted, as it were, into a sea of fire, but the whole of Jerusalem to its remotest courts was illuminated. It was not women, but men, the foremost and most honoured of the city, who performed the play of the torch-dance. They danced with torches, throwing them into the air and catching them again, often performing prodigies with a dexterity acquired by long practice. And dancing and jugglery were varied with the choir-singing of festal songs, sometimes impromptu. Music and singing sounded forth without ceasing, for on the fifteen steps which led down from the court of the men to that of the women, stood the Levites with citherns, harps, cymbals, and many other instruments, and struck up song after song. At the top of the fifteen steps, at the Nicanor gate, two priests waited for the first crowing of the cock, to announce with three blasts of the trumpet the breaking of the day, the signal on which this nightly carnival was followed by the pouring out of the water of Siloam. Simultaneously with the wine libation of the morning sacrifice, water fetched from Siloam was poured upon the altar, a sensible symbol of the promise: "With

joy shall ye draw water from the wells of salvation.”¹ One of the discourses of Jesus on the seventh day of this feast (John vii. 37–39) relates to this pouring out of “ Siloah’s ” water.

It is unquestionably possible that the leafy tabernacles of the feast of harvest-home owe their origin to the practice of going to the vineyards, and, during the time of harvest, passing the night there in the open air.² But was the festal joy lessened or perverted, when the tabernacles were rebaptized to commemorate the barracks in which the people, emancipated from their Egyptian bondage, were wont to camp on their way to Canaan ? Such historical adaptations of natural feasts, far from burying the natural occasion out of sight, serve rather to idealize it.³ The feast Pasch or Easter has remained for the Church, as it was for the people of the Old Testament, a spring-feast. Spring in nature is for us an image of the spring which has come in the kingdom of grace, through the resurrection of the Conqueror of death. The Sunday after Easter was called the Flower-Pasch in the ancient Church, and Gregory Nazianzen thus closes an Easter sermon : “ Now it is natural spring and spiritual spring ; spring for the life of the soul, spring for the life of the body ; visible spring and invisible spring.”

If you found yourself with a man, from whose face there beamed on you the rich pure love of a kindred

¹ Mischna, *Succa*, v. 1–4, iv. 1, 9 f. ; Maimonides, *Hilchoth Lulab*, viii. 12 f. ; *Gesch. der jüdischen Poesie*, p. 194 f.

² Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 86.

³ In opposition to Wellhausen, *ibid.*, p. 92, 102 : Historicizing of feasts :: denaturalization.

soul, in the charming surroundings of an Alpine valley, and if you had to choose that either that friendly face or that transporting panorama should grow pale and vanish, you would not hesitate in your choice for a moment. The personality of a single human being outweighs the entire world of unconscious nature; and human history is a mirror of the Deity, reflecting the Divine Being far more deeply and richly than the changes in nature. Hence a feast gains in festivity when it ceases to be a mere feast of nature, and becomes also an analogical historical feast, as, for example, when in post-biblical times the commemoration of the giving of the law,¹ and later, of the foundation of the Church, is associated with Pentecost, the ancient feast of wheat-harvest; or when the celebration of that brighter half of the world's history, which began with Christmas, is associated with the feast of the winter solstice. Joy in what is good and glorious in nature is not thereby in the least weakened. That very Ps. lxv., which praises God the Orderer of history: "By terrible things Thou answerest us in righteousness, O God of our salvation," closes thus: "Thou crownest the year with Thy goodness; and Thy paths drop fatness. They drop upon the pastures of the wilderness, and the hills are girded with joy. The pastures are clothed with flocks; the valleys also are covered over with corn,—they all shout, they all sing." And Isaiah, transported in spirit to the cradle of the Holy Christ, looking up to God the Giver of the Child Wonderful, says (ix. 3): "They joy before

¹ See *Pesachim*, 68^b, where it is said that the feast was all the more joyous on that account.

Thee according to the joy in harvest." The mirth of reapers and binders, the mirth of grape-gatherers and wine-pressers, was, and continued to be, proverbial.

In post-exilic as in pre-exilic times, delight in *nature*, as well as delight in *history*, appear inseparably united with the joy of dancing. Miriam, the sister of Moses, as leader of the choir of women, celebrates the overthrow of Pharaoh, and Jephthah's daughter the victory of her father over the Ammonites, and the women of Jerusalem the victory of Saul and David over the Philistines, with dancing and music; and just so the author of Ps. lxviii., which is alleged to be post-exilic, describes a triumphal celebration in the temple: "They have seen Thy goings, O God, even the goings of my God, my King, in holiness. The singers went before, the minstrels followed after in the midst of the damsels playing with timbrels." And in the post-exilic historical romance of the Book of Judith, the whole womanhood of the land execute dances in honour of their sister, who has delivered them from Holofernes. They all wear wreaths of olive, while she marches at their head. The men of war, wearing chaplets, and singing praises, receive them into their midst, and thus they enter Bethulia, which has been freed from the enemy.

Thus the legislation of the priestly code made no change in the taste of the people for dancing. This grew, rather than waned, in the later period. For it even made its way into the religious service without any feeling of contradiction to the law. Even the hymn-

book of the congregation, the Psalter, in which nothing is now allowed to pass as decidedly pre-exilic,¹ closes with calls to festal dancing: "Let them praise His name in the dance; let them sing praises unto Him with timbrel and harp" (Ps. cxlii. 3); and, "Praise Him with timbrel and dance, praise Him with stringed instruments and the pipe!" (Ps. cl. 4). And it is just in the latest prophetic pictures of the future that dancing becomes a characteristic feature. When Jerusalem shall be the spiritual metropolis of the nations, then, as is prophesied in Ps. lxxxvii., by a poet and seer of the sons of Korah, they shall confess with song and dance: "All my springs, the springs of my life and joy, are in thee." And Jeremiah, the prophet of Anathoth, who saw the kingdom of Judah break up and Jerusalem in flames, comforts his people, saying, in the name of God (xxxii. 4): "Again will I build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel! Again shalt thou be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry." Nay, even in the discourses of our Lord and Saviour, there are not wanting such figures taken from dancing. Who does not know the parable of the prodigal son? The prodigal son is the heathen world, and the elder son, proud of his goodness, is the people of the law. When the prodigal has returned to the open arms of his father, the elder son, as he comes near the house, to his

¹ Wellhausen, *Skizzen* (1884), p. 89: The Psalms belong throughout to the period of post-exilic Judaism. Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, p. 85: The Psalter is not a product of Israelitism, but of the Jews after the exile; and p. 298: The opinion that David was the father of Psalm-poetry originates with the Jews after the exile.

wonder and annoyance, hears *symphonies* and *choirs*, i.e. music and dancing (Luke xv. 25). The whole house is sharing the father's joy in an ecstasy of delight.

Why then should it be taken amiss, if I, a Christian theologian, adopt such a theme? The circle of hearers I am addressing resembles those who gather to hear Robertson-Smith in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and Kuenen in London and Oxford, and I have taken this one opportunity of showing, in a particular instance, that all will not stand the test in the newest reconstruction of pre-Christian Israelitish history; and that, in our attitude toward it, while we should not without more ado meet it with a negative, we should yet hold it open to criticism, and not allow ourselves to be carried away by it. The preacher Solomon says: "There is a time to mourn and a time to dance;" but it is equally true that proving is always timeous. An old Hebrew proverb¹ says: "If thou wilt hang thyself, hang thyself on a great tree," i.e. if thou wilt have an authority to depend on, choose a great one. But the proverb speaks conditionally, for not to hang oneself at all, is not this more advisable—is not this better? But enough of this talk!

¹ See Dukes, *Rabbinische Blumenlese* (1884), p. 111.

XI.

Love and Beauty.



XI.

LOVE AND BEAUTY.

WHAT is love? From the hawthorn blossom to the rose of a hundred leaves there are endless varieties, and so the forms of what is called love constitute a ladder of many steps. When David says to God (Ps. xviii. 1): "I will love Thee, O Lord, my strength;" and Hosea says of the princes of Israel: "Israel's rulers dearly love shame" (iv. 18); what a distance there is between that love to God and this love to shame! And when Solomon says (Prov. xix. 8): "He that getteth wisdom loveth his own soul;" and Paul, on the other hand, that "in the last days men shall come who shall be lovers of themselves" (2 Tim. iii. 2); what a gulf there is between that God-sanctioned self-love and this egoistic one, of which a verse says,—

Brich ganz entzwei den Willen der sich liebt;
Schenk mir ein Herz, das sich nur dir ergiebt.¹

And when we are commanded (Lev. xix. 18) to love our neighbour as ourselves, by seeking to further his good as we do our own, this love may be but a cold flame, proceeding from reflective thought, but apart from reflected feeling, far beneath such love as that of

¹ Break quite in twain the will that loves its own;
Give me a heart that bows to Thee alone.—TR.

Jonathan to David, of whom it is said, 1 Sam. xviii. 1, 3, that he loved him as his own soul, his own life; and of whom David says in turn: "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant hast thou been unto me; thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women" (2 Sam. i. 26). There is a love which is so deep, that another not equally deep appears in comparison like hatred. In contrast to Jacob's love to Rachel, his weaker love to Leah is as hatred. For love which deserves the name in the true sense is, as the Song of Songs says, "strong as death; its jealousy is cruel as the grave; the glow thereof is fiery; a very flame of the Lord" (viii. 6). This is a love which, though it may not remain always at the same pitch, is never extinguished. For it says,—

Wen einmal du geliebt,
Der sei für alle Zeit,
Wie er auch immer sei,
Dir heilig und geweiht.¹

Leaving out of account that emotional love, which consists only of a sort of intellectual good-will, a dutiful esteem, and which is only a shadow of love, proceeding by way of abstraction we reach the fact, that all love accompanied with emotional feelings has this for its universal characteristic, that it is found in a drawing of the soul which is produced by the attractive power of its object. Thus a man may love even gold and jewels,

¹ Once thou hast loved a friend,
Let him for ever be,
Through fortune good or ill,
Still consecrate to thee.—TR.

dogs and horses, things of this world; even in these cases love may be an affection, and may rise to a very passion. But we wish to speak here of that love which is related to beauty, of the love of person to person occasioned by beauty. Not all love of man to man is caused by beauty, but all affectionate love is caused by the loved one's external or inward beauty. It is a power which overcomes man. Morally regarded, it is extremely varied. Heaven and hell take part in inflaming this love.

Love in its emotional form, and especially as ideally conceived, that is to say, in the form corresponding to its real nature, can hardly be defined, though it may be described by certain manifestations. When the Psalmist says, Ps. xvi. 2 : "Thou art the Lord, I have no good beyond Thee," and (lxxiii. 25): "If only I have Thee, I ask for nothing in heaven or earth," we see that true love to God prefers fellowship with Him to all else, and willingly gives up all else, if it can only maintain this fellowship. And when Paul says: "To me to live is Christ," and: "I live, yet not I, but He liveth in me," we see that love to Christ is life in Christ and Christ's life in us. Thus we may say in general: Love is life in the loved one, and such an intimacy and blending with him, that he becomes the life of our life. But this is not to define love. Love is an impulse implanted in the creature by God, who is the fountain of love, a power bestowed on them, which, when actually experienced, is their blessedness, and which is attended with a peculiar class of joyful thoughts and emotions. It is through love that life obtains its charm and consecration, it alone makes life worth living, it is its pulsing heart.

But all have not an equal portion of this gift of the Creator. When sin prevailed over man, his nature turned on these two poles : in some the lust of the flesh, in which love becomes materialized and loses its spiritual, divine nature ; and in the rest selfishness, which is even worse than fleshly lust. There are men in whom selfishness prevails to such a degree that they can love nobody except themselves. The capacity of loving seems to be denied to their nature, their heart is encrusted with selfishness ; even to know that those nearly related to them are loved by others is unbearable. The gift of heaven is swallowed up in them by egoism. They cannot love. They are the unhappiest of human beings.

Beauty, also, is a conception which it is hard to define. Is the Beautiful so objectively, *i.e.* in itself, or is the name given merely to that which appears to a beholder beautiful ; in other words, does the Beautiful depend merely on individual or conventional appreciation ? The Shulamite in the Song of Songs boasts of her beloved as white and ruddy (v. 10), and Jeremiah says of the nobles of Jerusalem that they were purer than snow, whiter than milk, more ruddy in body than rubies (Lam. iv. 7) ; but perhaps such colouring of the body only passes for beautiful among the Caucasian race, while the Mongolian with equal right regards his wheaten - yellow, the Ethiopian his black, the American Indian his copper-colour, the Malay his mahogany or chestnut-brown, as beautiful. Perhaps. But more decisive than the colour of the skin is the formation of the body. We can hardly persuade ourselves that the conformation of the negro, with his prominent jawbones, his flat nose, and his thick

lips, is more beautiful than the Caucasian, from which Greek sculpture took the models of its statues. When we see a man with a receding skull and a projecting face, we are forced to think that Hogarth's line of beauty has a foundation of truth. As the characteristic mark of bodily beauty, Platner of Leipsic gave *die sanfte Allmählichkeit*, the absence of angularity, a smooth, moulded contour; and in point of fact, the head is beautiful when it forms a pleasing oval, and when the high brow falls down almost vertically toward the face. Or if we see a long body on disproportionately short legs, there seems to be some truth in the golden pattern, according to which Zeissing and Fechner have sought experimentally to lay down the proportions of the Beautiful. And it was surely not a mere individual peculiarity of taste, when Jacob thought the bright eyes of Rachel more beautiful than the dull eyes of Leah. We may therefore ascribe objectivity to ideal beauty, though it cannot be put into the forms of a logical or mathematical definition, as ideal love is an experience which, when we seek to describe it, ever retains an element which is undefinable and mysterious.

In addressing ourselves now to consider Love and Beauty in their mutual relations, we start from the following general and indisputable propositions.

God is all that is ; He is not a being among many beings, but the Being of all beings. The creature is something ; one being among many. Its moral task is so to maintain its existence that it shall remain in connection with God, and be a member in the harmonious whole of creation. Has it a twofold nature, bodily and

spiritual, its moral task is to subordinate the sensuous to the spiritual, and thus preserve its harmony with God and with its fellow-creatures. It is true, the world of the senses and the world of spirit are not in themselves irreconcilable contrasts ; but they are so in their present condition, sin has set them at enmity to one another. Even taken in itself, matter, in the domain of creation, is the furthest from God and the most unlike Him. And on that account, nearness to God is the greater in proportion as there is isolation from matter, and superiority to it. But since sin has come into the world, this holds in a higher degree, and comes home to us with an accentuated claim on our regard. We must break with the flesh, if we would taste the blessedness of the life of the spirit ; we must break with the earthly, if we would have a foretaste of the heavenly. With God, who is spirit, we can only commune in spirit. On the other hand, the play of sensuous charms may enter into the love of man to man, without this being in itself sinful, but never without danger of disturbing the purity of love and robbing it of its moral worth. Now the intermediate cause of these sensuous charms is beauty.

Let us then consider the particular kinds of love in relation to this fact.

1. There is a natural love, love from natural impulse, the love of blood relations, which is not in itself voluntary, and neither, therefore, moral, but an involuntary necessary consequence of the family bond. Such is the love of parents to children, of children to parents, and of relatives to one another. Here, as a rule, beauty is not a co-operating factor. It becomes so, however, in

the case of marriages within close degrees of relationship, as when an uncle marries a niece (which is customary among the Arabs), or when cousins marry. These marriages are not to be regarded as sinful in themselves, but sin enters when, for example, a son becomes enamoured of his stepmother. Such a case occurred in the Corinthian Church, and was censured and punished by Paul (1 Cor. v. 1). And Don Carlos entered into a similar relation with his stepmother Isabella, the third wife of his father Philip. If this relation did not degenerate into sinful acts, it certainly produced discord between father and son.

2. Neither is beauty a joint factor in that love of our neighbour, in virtue of which, according to Lev. xix. 18, we ought to do good to our neighbour and save him from harm, as if we were in his place. No doubt bodily affections become associated with this love when it goes beyond a disinterested well-wishing, founded on a sense of duty, and rises to sympathetic fellow-feeling, especially when we are met by a case of need awaking our compassion. “Whoso hath this world’s goods,” says the apostle, 1 John iii. 17, “and beholdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion (Greek, *τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ, his bowels*) from him, how doth the love of God abide in him?” Strong compassion of soul is reflected in the inner bodily organs, and hence we speak of the heart turning at the sight of great suffering. Now, if the misery which awakes compassion meets us in a sufferer of a beautiful, graceful exterior, then sensuous charms readily combine with love to our neighbour. Many a one, through not being on his guard against this,

has become the prey of ignominious deception, especially when the suppliants have been women who turn the power of pantomime, natural to the sex, to play with professional dexterity on the instinct of compassion. "Grace is deceitful," says the proverb-maker (xxxi. 30), "and beauty is vain." Beauty deceives by fleeing, many a time also by fleecing.¹

3. We come now to sexual love, which, like the love of kindred, is an ordinance of the Creator, for everything that lives on the earth, the vegetable world included, is propagated by the pairing of the sexes. Here the sensuous element is entitled to enter, for it is a condition essential to the continuance of the species. In the brute it is regulated by instinct, in man it ought to be regulated by the spirit. The God-appointed goal is marriage, which as a union at once bodily and spiritual is the highest, most concentrated form of earthly love. Here, if anywhere, with the attractive power of bodily charms, beauty is active as the mediating cause of love. But here too beauty, even when it is not a mere illusion produced by artificial adornment, shows itself only too often as empty deceit. Marriage, when it is of the right kind, rests on a harmony of souls, and common striving and working in the calling of life. But how many have made themselves unhappy for life, by abandoning themselves to the impression which beauty made on them, and therewith linking hopes from the marriage relation, which afterwards turned out fallacious! It is a mistake to suppose that in a beautiful body there

¹ Die Schönheit lügt, indem sie schwindet, manchmal aber auch, indem sie schwindelt.

always dwells a beautiful soul. It might be more correct to say that a body, in which a beautiful soul does not dwell, however beautiful it may be, is yet not truly beautiful. Our great German philosophers, Schelling, Hegel, Herbart, Lotze, have taught us that a charming form does not of itself constitute beauty, but that it consists in the harmonious interplay of the spiritual and sensuous. When beauty is merely external symmetry and grace, its captivating power is not lasting; for this it requires a corresponding inner character shining through it. When the intoxication of the senses is over, the impression passes to the opposite extreme; for an ugly soul makes the loveliest body appear ugly, while a lovely soul, through prolonged intercourse, makes even an unlovely body appear ever lovelier. The beauty of any one, when he has become known to be hollow, vulgar, deceitful, has a repulsive effect, while unloveliness is transfigured by a noble inner character. Without harmony of soul, marriage as a life-long relation is the most frightful embittering of life. How many a student of theology has allowed himself to be befooled by the fair exterior of a heartless doll, and has found in his pastoral calling, not a helpful *alterum ego* (second self), but a Satan ever coming in the way and hindering! The God-appointed flame of sexual love constitutes a moral task set to man. If he does not confine it within the limits of marriage, and control it by spiritual power, it brutifies him; and when it is not suffused with the silvery light of soul-affection, it makes the two miserable and mutually hateful. In marriage it is possible on material basis to rise to a mutual relation-

ship at once spiritual and bodily, which is described in Holy Scripture as the highest degree of love, and is called by Paul (Eph. v. 32), "a great mystery" (Vulgate: *sacramentum magnum*). Where husband and wife are not merely outwardly wedded, but joined by inward affinity, marriage embodies an everlasting kernel in a temporal wrapping.

4. In the love of friends, also, beauty often plays a part, especially in the friendships formed by the young. But seldom ever is it what attracts and captivates of itself. In the relation of man to man, there is scarcely a parallel to what Dante and Petrarch experienced, when the one was captivated by the sight of Beatrice, and the other by the sight of Laura, and when both, without requital, derived their life-long poetic inspiration from the devout adoration of these saintly figures. But when, with a noble disposition and character, a youth unites a pleasing exterior, then it often happens that a companion of his own age, or even a senior, is smitten with a love to him, which is at once physical and psychical, and feels himself drawn to him, not only spiritually, but with his entire personality of spirit and body. For the most part, it is the loved one who is the less independent of the two, and spiritually inferior to the lover, while the latter seeks, with a self-sacrificing zeal inflamed by love, to raise the other to his own level. This is the form of love in which, as Plato describes it, sensuous yearning is mastered by ideal aspiration, which carries the loved one with it. This love is also susceptible of a Christian transfiguration. To David's love to Jonathan corresponds the love of the second David to John. Our Lord loved

all His disciples with a holy love, but John can describe himself, without depreciating the others, as the disciple whom Jesus loved, and who, at their common meals, could lean on His bosom. And such a relation subsisted between Paul and Timothy, whom the former (Phil. ii. 20) describes as “one heart and one soul” with him, in a way no other was. In my novel, *Durch Krankheit zur Genesung* (1873), I have delineated such a love of man to man, in the relation between José and Benjamin.¹ But the unhappy dualism which, as Paul describes it in Rom. vii., is the misery of this present world, involves this love also in dangers, whereby it easily becomes unlike those holy exemplars. It may turn into idolatry, sinful love of the creature, which takes possession of the whole man, and destroys the love of God, who will be loved above all. Pascal recognised this in his maxim : *Se n'attacher à aucun.*²

Not in themselves, but in man's present condition, *amor rationalis* and *amor sensualis* (love rational and love sensual) are diverse in principle and in conception ; in point of fact, and morally, they are to be distinguished, unless the higher love is to be degraded and perverted.

¹ This work is so excellently handled in English by J. G. Smieton, *José and Benjamin* (London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1882), that it is more than a mere reproduction of the German original.

² This theme is fully treated in the tenth essay of my *Philemon oder von der christlichen Freundschaft. Aufzeichnungen des Fräulein S. C. von Klettenberg und ihres Freindekreises*, Aufl. 3, 1878. This essay is written by Fräulein Susanna Catharina herself, extracts from whose Diary have been published by Goethe, under the title, *Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele*. The fourth essay, so closely related in its theme, on delicacy in friendship, is by Frederick Carl von Moser.

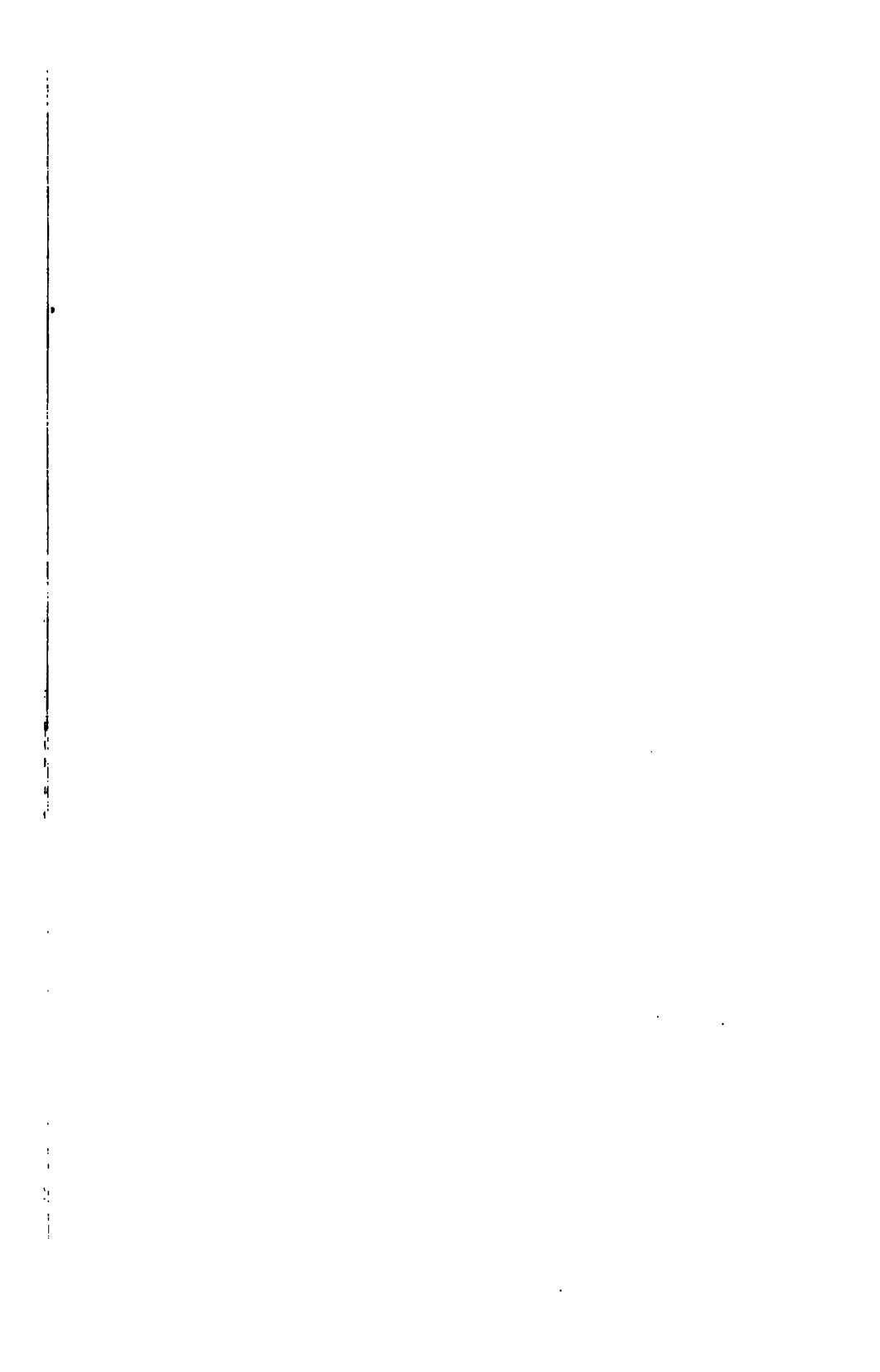
The flesh, as things are, cannot be sublimated into spirit. In its condition here and now it is incapable of transfiguration ; its transfiguration can only be effected through a radical change. It draws near its glorification here on earth only when it is crucified. Not till we reach the world of the future, which we now hope for, shall we find a world of sinlessness, in which holy love bears the sceptre of peace. The present world, in which sin has brought disharmony into the constituent parts of man and of nature, is for the soul, so long as it is united to matter, an arena of conflict.

NOTE TO PAGE 213, No. 2.

The verb “to love,” in the commandment requiring love to our neighbour, as it is expressed in the original (Lev. xix. 18), is not construed with the accusative, but with the dative of the object, being equivalent to “to exercise love ;” and, therefore, thou shalt exercise love to thy neighbour as to thyself, *i.e.* as if thou wert in his place. Thou shalt show him love like to that which thou wouldest show thyself, if thou wert he. If in a case of shipwreck two are clinging to a lifeboat which is already full, and can at the utmost only take one more, then he acts in the spirit of this command who surrenders himself to the waves that the other may be rescued. The nature of perfect love requires us not merely to put our neighbour on an equal footing with ourselves, but to put ourselves in his place. In every act of true love, an exchange of parts takes place. In what our Saviour did and suffered for mankind, this love culminates.

XII.

Eternal Life: Eternal Youth.



XII.

ETERNAL LIFE: ETERNAL YOUTH.

IT would be to falsify and corrupt the true and pure conception of God, were we to comprehend Godhead essentially considered under any class of created beings. No doubt our Lord says: *πνεῦμα ὁ Θεός*, God is spirit (John iv. 24), but He does not mean that God belongs to the class of spiritual beings. The created world falls into three divisions, the world of bodies, the world of spirits, and between them the world of beings consisting of body and spirit. But God belongs to none of these classes, not even to the highest. The words quoted, therefore, should rather be translated: God is spirit (so the Rev. Ver., marg.), than: God is a spirit (so the Auth. Ver.). God is spirit means that He is self-moved, free, immaterial. Human language has no word which covers this conception.

Similarly we must dissociate from God the ideas of time and space, though when we speak of Him we cannot escape from expressions which are taken from time and space. And such expressions are justified when we are speaking of God in relation to the world and to history. Then He may be called, He who was, and is, and is to come, not however as if this variety of time affected Him, but only described Him as filling all the spheres of time with His working. For as He is

above all space, so that the heaven of heavens cannot contain Him, so He is above all time, before Him a thousand years being as one day, and one day as a thousand years. Time imposes no limit on Him; He is exalted above the world of time and space as its Creator.

The creature, on the other hand, lives and moves in time and space. This holds of all creatures, of spirits, and of the blessed, who have passed from this world to the world beyond. When, therefore, the heaven of angels and of the blessed is spoken of, what is meant is a region of space lying beyond the visible world around us, and which becomes heaven from the fact that God there reveals Himself in the unveiled glory of His love. And when we speak of the eternal life of the blessed, we mean life enduring from æons to æons, that is to say, an endless course of time, which is measured, not by earthly hours and not by our solar and lunar calendar, but by æons, that is, incomparably long periods of time.

But "eternal life" (*ζωὴ αἰώνιος*) has a yet deeper meaning than blessed existence without end. When John says in the beginning of his First Epistle: "The life was manifested, and we have seen and bear witness and declare unto you the life, the eternal life, which was with the Father and was manifested unto us," eternal life is something else than endless existence in the other world. What is meant is the holy, glorious, blessed life of the Godhead itself, which has been historically revealed in Jesus the Christ, and which may be shared in communion with Him. "For this is eternal life," He says Himself in His farewell prayer (John

xvii. 3), "to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." Here eternal life is more than an everlasting heavenly life, it is raised above time and space, rooted in God who is above both, and deriving its nourishment from Him, a portion in the being and life of the Godhead. True, the creature remains subject to the limitations of time and space,—their abolition would be the abolition of creaturehood,—but man can lose himself in God by withdrawing from the world of sense and its charms, and as a creature renouncing everything created, making God his highest good. The pattern and mediator of such life in God is Jesus Christ; and such tasting and seeing of the blessedness of Him who is above time and space, is eternal life in the profoundest sense of the word.

When we maintain that eternal life is eternal youth, we do not mean this mystical life in God; for youth is a temporal idea, whereas the mystical life in God is properly associated with eternity in the sense of being above time, and even supposing that such life in God could be here and now without break or interruption, yet it is only at passing moments of exaltation that it becomes matter of conscious and happy experience. In ascribing eternal youthfulness to eternal life, we mean the heavenly life of the blessed, which undoubtedly has life in God, the Eternal One, as its hidden background, but stands in somewhat the same relation to it, as the plant with its blossoms and fruits to its root hidden in the earth.

It is of the very essence of the heavenly life of the blessed, that it excludes everything like ageing, and so it is eternal youth. The seer (Rev. xx. 12) beholds great and small standing before the great white throne.

Apparently, therefore, we must assume that even there there is a variety, and accordingly a growth in age. But that going down to the grave, which is here wont to succeed to the highest attainment of strength and beauty, cannot be supposed to exist in the world beyond. For that which is old and waxeth aged—we read in Heb. viii. 13—is nigh unto vanishing away. Thus, if there is a growing older, there is no ageing. Ageing is a slowly progressive dying; it is decay setting in after the highest point of growth has been reached. Such a process of dissolution and retrogression is in contradiction to that glorified life, of which Paul (1 Cor. xv. 54) says, that this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality. Ageing is a gradual decay of the powers, and of that freshness of youth which of itself is beautiful and even makes up for unloveliness of form; but the glorified life is the contrast of such ageing, for it is sown in dishonour,—says the apostle (1 Cor. xv. 43), —it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power. The life beyond is called (1 Pet. i. 4) incorruptible and undefiled and unfading; and the crown of glory, which the faithful receive as their reward, is called (1 Pet. v. 4) one that fadeth not away (*ἀμαράντιος*). The life beyond is the abiding for ever in unfading bloom.

To the same effect is the description of the future world in the last chapter of the Revelation, when it is said that there will be no more death (xxi. 4), and therefore no more ageing, not that gradual disintegration of the elements of a being which issues in its dissolution; or when it is said there shall be no night there (xxii. 5),

for night is day when it has aged and died out. Consequently, also, there shall be no more winter, for winter is the world of nature when it has aged and died out There, all remains in healthy beauty and freshness Here on earth, the imposing and gracious beauty of manhood, the lovely sweet-smelling blossom of flowers, are only a fugitive shadow of that abiding heavenly glory

Ewiges Leben, du herrliches Wort,
Blühende Blume, die nimmer verdorr ! ¹

The blessed will be equal to the angels (Luke xx. 36). The being of the angels is youthful strength, and their appearance youthful beauty. Never did an angel appear as an old man. Not only had those two angels that came to Sodom (Gen. xix.) the beauty of youth; that Raphael also, who joins young Tobias, appears as a youth (Tob. v. 5); and the angel, also, who was seen by the women sitting in white raiment on the right in the empty tomb of the Risen One, had the appearance of a *νεανίσκος*, i.e. *youth* (Mark xvi. 5).

It is also significant that our Lord was in His thirtieth year when He entered on His work as a public teacher (Luke iii. 23). He stood at the meeting-point between youth and manhood, at the apex of *adolescentia*, the interval (comp. John viii. 57) between *pueritia* and *senectus* (boyhood and old age), at that time which is capable of everlasting duration, whereas old age admits of no such continuance. When Paul (Eph. iv. 13) sets before the Church, as the goal of its progressive develop-

¹ Life everlasting, word regal in praise,
Full-blooming flower, that never decays.—TR.

ment, the attaining to the measure of the perfect age [stature] of Christ, he means, that the task set before the Church is to gain a ripeness and strength of knowledge and practical experience corresponding to the Saviour's manhood, whom we cannot think of either as a beardless youth or as an old man who has lived out his days, but in His historical character of Redeemer, as the spiritual counterpart of the Greek Apollo, or the Canaanitish Adonis, or the Scandinavian Baldur.

There is no contradiction between this and what we find in the Book of Daniel, where God, who sits in judgment over the kingdoms of the world, and sets up the everlasting kingdom of the holy people of the Most High, is called Ancient of Days (Dan. vii. 9), and further on the Ancient of Days (vii. 13, 22). He is so called as the God of all history from the beginning of time. The hair of His head is likened to pure wool, to indicate that His being reaches back to the past eternity, and His raiment, white as snow, represents Him as one whose manifestation is holy as His nature is. So also the raiment of Jesus becomes white as the light at His transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 2), for unbroken light is white. The metaphors of white snow and pure wool express the truth, that to Him belong pre-existence in infinite measure, and light or holiness in the highest degree. He is the Eternally Ancient, who always was ; and so Christ (Heb. xiii. 8) is described as the Eternally Ancient, who ever was and ever shall be, and that as the same, ever like Himself, and therefore excluding the possibility of growing aged. For what Ps. cii. 27, 28, says of Jehovah holds also, according to Heb. i. 12, of

Christ, who is God manifest in the flesh: "The heavens shall perish; but Thou continuest . . . but Thou art the same, and Thy years shall not fail."

The Forty-eighth Psalm closes with a puzzling verse, of which there are four ancient interpretations. We may use them to sum up our thoughts of the world beyond. Some take them to mean: He (our Lord) guides us over death (*al-māt*). Others: He guides us to immortality (*al-maweth*). Others: He guides us through æons on æons (*olamōth*). And yet others, to whom Luther adheres: He guides us to youthfulness (*ullēmuth*). The blessed life beyond death is the life of immortality, an æons-long life of eternal youth.



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